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ABSTRACT

Papers presented at a symposium on Europe's less commonly taught languages include the following: "The Necessity of Dialogue" (Marcel de Greve); "Socio- and Psycholinguistic Interference in Teaching Foreign Languages" (Penka Ilieva-Baltova); "Satellite Television, National Television, and Video in Teaching/Learning Less Widely Taught Languages" (Zofia Jancewicz); "Can the Gap Between 'Lesser Used' and 'Less Widely Taught' Languages Be Bridged? A Status Challenge for Irish" (Liam Mac Mathuna); "Dutch, the Language of 20,000,000" (Jos Nivette); "Historical Overview of the Position of Irish" (Mairtin O Murchu); "Lesser Used Languages of the European Communities--Developments in the Recent Past and New Hopes for the Future" (Donall O Riagain); State and Non-State Supported Less Widely Taught Languages: Statutes Beat Numbers" (Yvo J. D. Peeters); "Language Groups Among the Gypsies in Hungary and Some Aspects of Their Oral Culture" (Zita Reger); The Language Situation in the Ukrainian SSR and the Issue of Less Widely Taught Languages" (Oleg E. Semenets); "Possibilities and limits of the Processes of Linguistic Recuperation: The Case of Catalan" (Miguel Siguan); "Some Aspects of Learning/Teaching Romanian as a Foreign Language" (Tatiana Slama-Cazacu); "Language Policy, Language Planning, Status Planning" (Gyorgy Szepe); and "The Variable Macedonian Standard" (Olga Miseska Tomic). (MSE)

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The less widely taught languages of Europe

Proceedings of the UNESCO/AILA/IRAAL symposium held at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, 23-25 April 1987

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UNESCO AND LESS TAUGHT LANGUAGES IN EUROPE

FOREWORD BY VICTOR KOPTILOV

The preamble of the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) states that the State Parties to this Constitution are "determined to develop and increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives". Article I of the Constitution also underlines at the end "the fruitful diversity of the cultures ... of the State Members of the Organization".

On the basis of these concepts and from the first years of its existence, Unesco has set up a language programme devoted to the promotion of teaching and learning mother, national and foreign languages as a vehicle of education and a means of transmission to future generations of cultural values inherent to each country and to all mankind.

When speaking of Unesco's language policy, one should stress that the shortest and most appropriate expression in this respect is a policy of balance. This balance is an absolutely vital element in today's world, a world too unbalanced in many respects. This lack of balance appears in languages: there is no balance between mother and national languages of developing countries, on the one hand, and the so-called "world" languages, on the other; nor is there any balance between prevailing and minority languages in several countries of the world. Finally, one can hardly find any balance between the lesser known and the more widely spread languages. There are indeed

numerous reasons which might explain - and even justify - all these inequalities. However, Unesco's aim in this field is to pursue its efforts to arrive at a more stable situation and establish a "new linguistic order" so to speak (to use, as an example, the New Economic Order), which would ensure to such languages as Icelandic or Irish the possibility of being known and studied as much as English or French.

Since 1980, Unesco has devoted its time and efforts to establishing co-operation between European countries in this direction, in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference on security and co-operation in Europe. To this end, various activities have been organized.

The programme of the less-known languages in Europe was launched in 1980 in Budapest, as a follow-up to an expert meeting organized jointly by the Hungarian National Commission for Unesco and Unesco. Since then, several activities have been organized in order to sensitize public opinion and work out the best methods and best didactic materials to facilitate the acquisition of a deeper and more systematic knowledge of languages of little expansion but of great cultural, ethic and aesthetic value. Unesco has published a series of studies on the pedagogical and sociolinguistic problems of the languages concerned. An "Inventory of centers for training and learning less widely taught languages in Europe" by J.-P. Van Deth appeared in 1986.

The development of Unesco's programme for the promotion of less widely taught languages would have been difficult - and perhaps even impossible - without

the collaboration of non-governmental organizations.

In 1984, the Greek Association for Applied Linguistics organized in Thessaloniki, with Unesco's support, a symposium mainly devoted to a discussion of the experiences of various European countries in the teaching of their languages to migrant populations or in the teaching of "minority" languages within multilingual countries.

In 1986, on the common initiative of Venice University, AILA and Unesco, an expert meeting was organized in Venice in order to study the possibility of creating an Information Centre on less taught languages and a network for information exchange around this Centre. At the closing of this symposium, and on an experimental basis, the permanent Secretariat of the future Centre was established. Its first task was to draw up and send to all European Member States a questionnaire with a view to gaining increased knowledge of the characteristics of European language teaching within each country. We have now received the first results of this survey. Technical cards on each language and each institution are being prepared by the International Network for Documentation and Information on Less Taught Languages (REDILME) that the Centre established. REDILME has published a collection of data, "First data concerning the state of teaching and diffusion of the target languages" (Venice, 1987, 155pp.).

Finally, in 1987, IRAAL convoked a symposium in Dublin, with Unesco's support, which discussed the objectives of European language teaching, the obstacles to the development of this activity and a

future strategy for improving the existing situation. This will help Unesco to draw up guidelines for our programme in the years to come and to better plan our future activities.

It is to be hoped that - in view of the present trends towards humanization of education and revaluation of the tremendous wealth of the hundreds of cultures which make up the one great culture of mankind - the learning and teaching of less taught languages will be able to gain a renewed impetus. The establishment of a true balance in this important field calls for Unesco's wholehearted support.

THE NECESSITY OF DIALOGUE

MARCEL DE GRÈVE
(*International Association for Cross-Cultural Communication*)

We cannot but observe that conjunction and contact of cultures normally lead to two different situations, the first one resulting from a dominating and imperialistic standpoint of one of the cultures involved, the second one based on dialogue and leading to creative syncretism.

One can hardly deny that, as far as history is concerned, it is, most of the time, the first model which is realized. Certainly, nowadays very few, at least in Europe, will admit that they recommend a relationship between two cultures in terms of "dominating vs dominated", a relationship which generates one or other kind of "apartheid". Nevertheless, more often than not languages or cultures in contact are at the origin of conflicts. This situation may degenerate into a dysfunction of the society involved. Lebanon and the Republic of South Africa are, maybe, the most tragic examples of a confrontation of cultures.

When two different linguistic groups get in contact with each other, the normal relationship leads to the following situation: the less powerful group (especially from an economic point of view) is forced to use the language of the dominating group, whereas the use of the language of the dominated group, considered as "inferior", is not compulsory for the individuals belonging to the economically, and thus politically, stronger group. It is the Alsatian who is bilingual, but not the Parisian; the Welshman, but not the Englishman; the Aymara people,

but not the Peruvians of European origin.

The evolution of the situation in Belgium is a revealing example of the relationship between two linguistic and cultural groups in the same area or nation. As long as the economic weight was located in the French-speaking part of the country, the Flemish-speakers had to learn and to speak the French language, if only for social promotion. Since, in fact rather lately, the economic weight has, for all sorts of reasons, moved from the Walloon part to the Flemish part of the country, Walloon people are more and more forced to learn the Dutch language, be it only for professional reasons. This situation has brought the relationship between the two communities to a certain equilibrium, although the Flemish community is tending to become dominant in its turn.

But the problem does not limit itself to countries where the oppositions between cultures are acute. It is now an accepted fact that amongst the countries all over the world it is not monolingualism which is the standard practice, but a most widely extended bilingualism or multilingualism resulting from a diglossic situation.

This symposium being centred on the situation in Europe, I would like to quote what György Szépe wrote in 1980, in a report to UNESCO:

> Contrary to the concept of the "melting pot", a historical established practice in the U.S.A. and other parts of the world, Europe flourishes as a multilingual region.(1)

Ricardo Petrella, in his, in my eyes, important book on *La Renaissance des cultures régionales en*

Europe (2), puts it also quite clearly:

> Contrairement à la logique monolinguistique, uniformisante et restrictive qui a inspiré jusqu'à une date récente la politique linguistique des États-nations, le point de départ d'une action européenne ne pourra être que la reconnaissance de la diversité et de la multiplicité des faits linguistiques et culturels au sein de l'espace européen. Qu'il s'agisse des langues officielles "nationales", des langues dites "régionales" ou des langues des migrants, l'objectif devra être celui de la valorisation sans discrimination et sans "frontières" de ce capital humain considérable. (3)

As a matter of fact, the splitting up of the world into different cultures has become a general phenomenon. And it is beyond us to consider whether this diversity is desirable, necessary, or deplorable. Anyway, and notwithstanding the fact that there is often evidence of a political will for standardization, a well assumed multicultural or multilingual situation - for which I have suggested the notions and the terms of "pluriculturality" and of "plurilingualism" (4) - seems to be the only possibility to preserve a state from dysfunction. In this case the domination of one or several social, economic or cultural groups by another group, or one or several regions by another region, is avoided (5). A pluricultural society has, of course, its specific problems which have to be solved.

It has often been asserted that language is not the only distinctive sign of a culture, and this is most likely true. The fact remains nonetheless that language is one of the favoured expressions of a cultural, social and economic unity. Which means, to put it plainly, that the use of one another's language is a prerequisite to real cooperation. The development of a pluricultural society, which would not cause a dysfunction in the

given society, could only be based on an active dialogue between the different cultural components of the unit set up.

The 13th AIMAV Seminar, held in Brussels in 1981, on "the structures of a pluricultural society" (6), provided evidence that any culture, even a dominant one, will benefit by opening itself in a selective way to other cultures, even to those considered less prestigious, and by assimilating foreign cultural elements which suit its own. In other words, each culture, like each individual, enriches itself through "dialogue". But one should not only *declare* that dialogue is a necessity. One has to put in order the components which make dialogue possible.

We should point out that the notion of "dialogue" cannot, to be authentic, be univocal. Obviously, one cannot envisage a dialogue when there are not, at least, two speakers who converse. Which means, two speakers who are in an equivalent relationship to each other. One does not, for instance, dialogue with the Prince (King, Queen, or President): the latter asks questions, and the interlocutor has to limit himself to answering the questions. Consequently, the person the Prince is talking to is supposed to acquire and to practise the Prince's linguistic register.

As dialogue proceeds through language, it is out of the question to exclude either partner's own linguistic code, the more so since language is one of the essential factors of cultural identity. Thus it is, at least, desirable to leave each interlocutor the possibility of using his own language. The use of each partner's own language is essential if one is to benefit from a real dialogue.

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It is also obvious that one has more opportunities to converse, to speak with a neighbour than with an interlocutor who lives far away. It is also important for the coherence of a nation that the citizens keep up real dialogues with each other. Thus, each citizen should learn to use the language of the *nearest partner*. This is certainly the best way to strengthen the concatenation of the different parts of the country, of the nation (7).

It has to be pointed out that dialogue does not impose the necessity of perfect practice of the interlocutor's language: the latter does not expect the foreigner to speak the foreign language as if it was his mother tongue. On the other hand, as we will see later, one could conceive a dialogue based on receptive competence, on either side, of the other's mother tongue (8). The major requirement to obtain an authentic and enriching dialogue consists in a relationship where the interlocutors tend, at least, to a certain equality.

A so-called "bilingual situation" or "bilingual context" is most of the time a swindle. In most, if not all, cases the communication between the speakers belonging to different cultural and thus linguistic, communities is performed through the following model, in which the speaker is represented by S, the speech by E (Emission), the listening by R (Reception), and the two languages by *a* and *b*:

(1)
$$
\begin{aligned}
&Sx(a) < E(La) \rightarrow R(La) > Sy(b)\\
&Sy(b) < E(La) \rightarrow R(La) > Sx(a)\\
&Sx(a) < E(La) \rightarrow R(La) > Sy(b)\\
&Sy(b) < E(La) \rightarrow R(La) > Sx(a)\\
&\ldots\ldots\ldots
\end{aligned}
$$

It is easy to notice that the mother tongue of one of the speakers, i.e. x, is used as the only medium for the communication. Which means that only speaker *y* practises bilingualism. But which also means that asserting that this is a case of "bilingualism of individuals " is rather deceptive, and even absolutely false. This kind of "bilingualism" is leading straight to politics of a colonial type. The problem is that the kind of communication mentioned is exactly the one which is usually practised in a so-called multilingual context.

One could, of course, theoretically envisage the following model:

(II)
$$\begin{aligned} &Sx(a) < E(Lb) \longrightarrow R(Lb) > Sy(b) \\ &Sy(b) < E(La) \longrightarrow R(La) > Sx(a) \\ &Sx(a) < E(Lb) \longrightarrow R(Lb) > Sy(b) \\ &Sy(b) < E(La) \longrightarrow R(La) > Sx(a) \\ &\cdots\cdots\cdots \end{aligned}$$

In this case, we would have a real bilingual practice, each speaker using the mother tongue of his interlocutor. But it is also obvious that such bilingual conversation would be but a game, or a joke.

On the other hand, the following model is quite often practised, e.g. at international meetings:

(III)
$$\begin{aligned} &Sx(a) < E(Lc) \longrightarrow R(Lc) > Sy(b) \\ &Sy(b) < E(Lc) \longrightarrow R(Lc) > Sx(a) \\ &Sx(a) < E(Lc) \longrightarrow R(Lc) > Sy(b) \\ &Sy(b) < E(Lc) \longrightarrow R(Lc) > Sx(a) \\ &\cdots\cdots\cdots \end{aligned}$$

In this case, a language foreign to each of the interlocutors is used as the medium of communication. But one may doubt whether this is exactly what is meant when

one speaks of a "bilingual" or a "plurilingual" context ...

But model I and model II can be combined. Which gives:

(IV)
$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
Sx(a) & < & E(La) & \rightarrow & R(La) > Sy(b) \\
Sy(b) & < & E(Lb) & \rightarrow & R(Lb) > Sx(a) \\
Sx(a) & < & E(La) & \rightarrow & R(La) > Sy(b) \\
Sy(b) & < & E(Lb) & \rightarrow & R(Lb) > Sx(a) \\
\multicolumn{5}{l}{\cdots\cdots\cdots}
\end{array}
$$

In this case, and only in this case, one can speak of a "bilingual context": each speaker, having at least a receptive competence of his interlocutor's language, uses his mother tongue, and thus both interlocutors stand on the same level, are equal. This model, and only this one, makes a real dialogue possible, by withdrawing any domination of one of the speakers by the other. This is the model I use myself at international conferences where I switch from a foreign language to my own mother tongue (French) each time I want to qualify my thought or thinking. This is also the model my colleague Frans van Passel and myself have introduced, with convincing results, in certain Belgian military and other circles.

In countries where a dominant socio-economic or political group or class has not prevented or has not been able to prevent the development of "harmonious bilingualism" (9), success is generally assured. This can be observed in some Yugoslavian republics, in at least seven of the twenty-three cantons of Switzerland, in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, in the Flemish part of Belgium, in certain provinces of Canada, etc.

Experience proves that the development of human

beings requires plurality in unity. Numerous examples illustrate the creative nature of hybridization and inbreeding.

EACH CULTURE IS A MOSAIC (10). Each culture is the result, the product of exchange, following a phenomenon of either osmosis or syncretism, which develops the previous stage by enriching it.

An enrichment of that sort, however, is subordinate, on the one hand, to the "open" character of the original culture, on the other hand, and all the same, to its selective reactions in absorbing extraneous elements. The culture of the American Indians, for instance, could not, in most cases, be preserved or enriched by foreign elements (coming from Europe), because it wanted or was obliged to remain "closed". In Western Europe, the cultures of certain indigenous and immigrant communities could not enrich themselves nor enrich the dominant imported or original, cultures because of their lack of selection in adopting and adapting foreign cultural elements. This has been for a large part the case of the Celts, and more particularly of the Bretons in France, who have been intensively Francized. Needless to stress, I suppose, that this kind of event corresponds with a loss for both cultures involved, although perhaps mainly for the host culture, or for the culture which has dominated the other.

One has, of course, to admit that the osmosis which realizes a sane pluricultural situation does not always appear spontaneously: quite often psychological and/or economic obstacles oppose themselves to such a situation. In imposing bilingualism, one could fear a certain danger for the correct use of the mother tongue. This fear is understandable (11). But there is sufficient

evidence that there are no grounds for that kind of fear, as long as the foreign language is taught through an endogenous teaching, i.e. a teaching in accordance with the cultural identity and specificity of the learner (12), and also as long as one takes the power struggle between the mother tongue and the target language into account to specify at which age the bilingual education may start (13). If these precautions are taken, one cannot but consider as applicable the conclusion of William F. Mackey, a researcher well-known for his caution and circumspection:

> After more than a decade of observation, it has become evident that, in spite of all that immersion into the French language, the Anglophone children by becoming bilingual did not lose their native English. (14)

Pluriculturality is not an obvious notion. Citizens belonging to countries supposed to be monolingual, e.g. France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Germany, can hardly understand or acknowledge a pluricultural society. As for citizens belonging to countries openly considered as being plurilingual and pluricultural, they mostly regard this situation as an inconvenience, if not as a scourge.

In this regard, one might point out that the interpenetration of different cultures quite often leads to a conflictual situation. Among others, the most important obstacles to a harmonious diglossia seem to find their origin either in the fact that the dominant group or class is itself monolingual - which is, for instance, the case in France, in the United Kingdom, in the Soviet Union, in the United States - or in the fact that the dominant class wants to reserve for itself the advantages of bilingualism - which is the case for certain so-

called "elites", especially (but not only) in the former colonies. In this connection, one should not forget that it is never with impunity that one pushes somebody into despair. And this is also true in linguistic-political matters.

As a matter of fact, a diglossic situation able to lead to an authentic bilingualism or plurilingualism corresponds to national resources for the whole society as well as for the individuals who compose it. But only provided that the plurilingual situation takes advantage of it with proper judgment.

Among the necessary prerequisites to benefits accruing from the contact of cultures, one could point out the following:

1. It is high time to consider that, if certain cultures have benefited more than others from historical circumstances, that does not mean that there are superior cultures and inferior cultures; such a dichotomy is a result of a reductionist point of view.
2. It is high time to dismiss the temptation to require the total assimilation of immigrant or colonized cultures or peoples.
3. One should abandon the conception of culture as a set of unchanging "models" which should be the privilege of "elites" which indefinitely reproduce themselves. Progress is only possible by preparing the ways for creative work, for the working out of new knowledge.
4. All nations should become aware of the advantages of the interaction of different cultures. In other words, pluriculturality should be envisaged as "national resources".

20 [illegible]

5. It is also high time for us to reach the frame of mind which allows us to take into consideration that conflicts resulting from the contact of cultures are practically inevitable, but that, on the other hand, these conflicts can not only be smoothed away, but can be at the origin of creative dynamics. Indeed, creativity does not easily appear in monolithic systems, while typical examples of progress exist in pluricultural societies, e.g. Brazil, U.S.A....

These presuppositions could be considered as mere wishful thinking. They are certainly not, insofar as one decides to take into account the lessons of history, namely that the development of mankind is not simply the result of reproducing pre-existing "models".

Of course, this option requires a political will capable of expressing itself in a set of coherent strategies. In this regard - but without going into details, which would bring us out-of-the-way - I would like to emphasize the fact that mass media have an important role to play, be it only because the less privileged part of the population, the "mass", has less access to the various resources offered by a pluricultural society.

The free circulation of individuals and ideas, which the Commission of the European Communities as well as the Council of Europe are striving to realize and which is supposed to be the aim of any state or nation, cannot be envisaged unless the *possibility of dialogue* between groups of citizens is realized. Those who signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (15) were quite aware of the importance of mutual contacts and of the necessary

variety of languages taught (16). To promote a pluricultural society, based on dialogue, one has of course to insist on the teaching of the less taught languages.

For my conclusion, I would like to suggest a theoretical framework, which means that I don't want to present it as definite recommendations, but rather as a pilot-study open for discussion.

One currently distinguishes "second language" from "foreign language". This distinction corresponds to my own definition of the "language of the nearest partner" as opposed to the language of other people. One should also consider that the method for teaching a second language is supposed to be different from the way to teach an absolute foreign language (17). This having been said, one could consider one of the languages spoken by citizens of the same country or of a neighbouring country as a "second language" for the others. My suggestion is that all pupils should first be well introduced to, i.e. have cognitive skills in, their mother tongue. As "second language" should be compulsory: (a) for those whose mother tongue is the official language of the state or nation: another language of the country; (b) for those whose mother tongue is not the official language: this official language itself; (c) for those whose mother tongue is the language of a large group of immigrants (18): the official language of the host country. The choice for the third language could be left totally free (19). In brief:

L1: Mother tongue.
L2: Official language or other language of the country.
L3: Free choice.

Example: in Spain, all children should first have their education in their mother tongue (Castilian, Catalan, Basque or Galician). For the non-Castilians, the second compulsory language should be Castilian, as this language is, known as Spanish, the official language of Spain. For the Castilians themselves, the second compulsory language should be one of the other languages of the country (Catalan, Basque or Galician).

Another example: in the Soviet Union, all citizens of the different republics would have to learn Russian - which, of course, is the case already. But all the citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic should have to learn at least one of the languages of the other republics - which is not the case as things stand.

A third example: in the United Kingdom, the Welsh, the Scots or other minorities or members of large groups of immigrants should have English as a second (!) language, whereas the English should have to learn one of those languages as a compulsory second language.

A fourth example: the two and a half million inhabitants of Togo are divided into forty-five ethnic groups. Amongst the almost as many languages, the most common are Ewé and its "mina" variety, Kabyé and Kotokoli. The solution for language teaching could be to teach the mother tongue as first language to the pupils of each ethnic group. The second compulsory language should be the official language of the country, French. Considering that Ghana and Nigeria are neighbouring countries ("nearest partners") of Togo, English could be firmly suggested as third language.

A final example: in Belgium, where there are three official languages (Dutch, French and German), the com-

pulsory second language for the French-speaking children should be Dutch or German; for the German-speaking children: French or Dutch; for the Flemings: French or German. Thus English should only be taught as a possible third language.

All these examples prove that the theoretical framework can be applied to multilingual countries. But what about really monolingual countries or countries considered as such? The Federal Republic of Germany could be an example of that kind. In this case, the language of the "nearest partner" could be the language of the neighbouring country or of the people living at the other side of the border (as I already pointed out for Togo). As a matter of fact, an interesting experiment has been carried out along the border with the Netherlands. In this region, the Dutch language has been "offered" to the pupils of the secondary schools ("Gymnasium"): the success of this experiment exceeded expectations (20).

Some problems could arise in certain countries. In the Netherlands, for instance, there is only one other national language besides Dutch, namely Frisian, spoken in a rather small part in the North of the country. One could hardly require that all Dutchmen should speak Frisian... In that case, the idea of considering the language of a large group of immigrants as compulsory in terms of a second language, e.g. Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish, Indonesian, could be an excellent method of integrating the immigrants in the host country and of enriching the Dutch people itself.

It seems to me that the proposed theoretical framework, of course open for discussion and dispute,

could help the political authorities of any nation to avoid disadvantaging minorities, to introduce the so necessary dialogue between the different components of the nation and, thus, to strengthen national unity, which is generally considered a necessity for survival.

NOTES

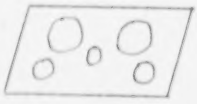
(1) *Less Taught Languages in Europe: Their Place in Education and Their Role*, Paris, UNESCO, s.d. (1980), p. 42. This Report gives also an excellent list of languages spoken in Europe (in the large sense adopted by UNESCO).

(2) Paris, Éditions Rencontre, 1978

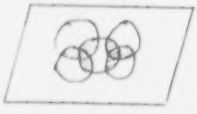
(3) Pp. 56-7. My own, imperfect, translation: "Contrary to the monolinguistic, standardizing and restrictive logic, which has, until recently, inspired the linguistic politics of the nations or States, the starting point of a European action could not be but the acknowledgement of the variety and the multiplicity of linguistic and cultural occurrences within the European space. Be they official 'national' languages, so-called 'regional' languages or languages of migrant workers, the objective should be the valorisation, without discrimination and without 'boundaries', of this considerable human capital".

(4) "Du multilinguisme au plurilinguisme", in JEAN-PIERRE VAN DETH and JEAN PUYO, *Statut et gestion des langues*. Actes du 2e colloque international "Langues et coopération européenne" (Paris, CIREEL, 1982), pp. 29-40.

(5) In a "multicultural" set, the cultures evolve next to each other:



In a "pluricultural" set, the cultures have mutual intersections:



(6) Proceedings published in *Recherches sociologiques*, (Catholic University of Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, vol. XIV (1983), No. 1.

(7) French-speaking Belgian television and radio provide Dutch language courses under the title "Spreek met ons mee", which means "Talk with us".

This title is assonantal with "Speel met ons mee", or "Play with us". In other words, "Let's work together".

(8) Cf. MARCEL DE GRÈVE, *La compétence réceptive: une solution éventuelle?* in *Recherches sociologiques*, Catholic University of Louvain, vol. XIV (1983), No. 1, pp. 59-73.

(9) Cf. MARCEL DE GRÈVE and FRANS VAN PASSEL, *Linguistique et enseignement des langues étrangères* (2nd edit., Paris, Nathan and Brussels, Labor, 1973), pp. 121-7.

(10) I borrow the phrase from the Acadian author Antonine Maillet.

(11) The 10th AIMAV Seminar has proved that knowledge (cognitive) of the mother tongue is necessary to acquire a foreign language. Cf. MARCEL DE GRÈVE and EDDY ROSSEEL (eds.), *Problèmes linguistiques des enfants de travailleurs migrants*. Brussels, AIMAV, 1977.

(12) Cf. my Report, for UNESCO, of my mission at the "Village du Benin" in Lomé (Togo). Ghent, AIMAV, 1985. Cf. also RAJA T. NASR, SEGUN ODUNUGA, EDDY ROSSEEL and CATHERINE YOUNG SILVA (eds.), *Language Learning and Cultural Identity*. Brussels & Sao Paulo, AIMAV, 1982.

(13) The following diagrams show the (rare but important) situations in which the learning of a second language is unfavourable (1L = mother tongue; 2L = second or foreign language; D = dominant (or "prestigious"); d = dominates; + = favourable learning; - = unfavourable learning; v = non exclusive disjunction):

a	1LD vs 2LD : +	e	1LD vs (2LD v 2L'D) : +
b	1LD vs 2Ld : +	f	1LD vs (2LD v 2L'd) : +
c	1Ld vs 2Ld : +	g	1LD vs (2Ld v 2L'D) : +
d	1Ld vs 2LD : -	h	1Ld vs (2Ld v 2L'd) : +
		i	1Ld vs (2LD v 2L'D) : -
		j	1Ld vs (2LD v 2L'd) : -

a : e.g. 1LD: French and 2LD: English in France.
b : e.g. French (1LD) and Arabic (2Ld) in France.
c : e.g. Spanish (1Ld) and Portuguese (2Ld) in U.S.A.
d : e.g. Basque (1Ld) and Spanish (2LD) in Spain.
e : e.g. .....

The fact that Francophone Canadians, especially in Quebec, react less well to the immersion technique than Anglophone Canadians (Cf. STAN SHAPSON, DAVID KAUFMAN and ELAINE DAY, *Evaluation Study of a Summer Immersion Programme for Secondary Students*, in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural*

Development, vol. 2 (1981), No. 1, pp. 65-81) is a perfect illustration of the above mentioned diagrams.

(14) *Safeguarding Language in Schools*, *in Language and Society*, No. 4 (1981) pp. 10-14; p.13.

(15) Helsinki, U.N.O., 1975.

(16) Cf. Section 4, item (d), § 1.

(17) I think that I should add here that I distinguish *Methodology*, which I would define as the set of theoretical knowledge necessary for the apprehension and the understanding of the processes of learning, *Didactics*, deriving from the former, i.e. the (epistemological) application of the theory to the strategy of the teaching and learning of a certain object, and *Pedagogy*, which refers directly to the relationship between the teacher and the learner in the learning process.

(18) The percentage corresponding to a "large group" of immigrants has still to be made clear on the basis of sociolinguistic parameters.

(19) Although I observe that English has become a necessary international language for everybody, I do not think one should impose the learning of English. The scale of the spreading of this language through songs, advertising, television, radio, etc. is such that one does not have to worry about the dissemination of the English language.

(20) Cf. PETER HUGO NELDE, "Language 'Contact Universals' along the Germanic-Romanic Linguistic Border", in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 2 (1981), No. 2, pp. 117-26.

SOCIO- AND PSYCHOLINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE IN TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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Speech communication, conceived of as a community of verbal and non-verbal components, of linguistic and extralinguistic characteristics, carries abundant information about the participants in the act of speaking, namely, age, education, professional and social status, appurtenance to the male or female sex, national affiliation, etc. This explains the great interest shown in the process of speech communication and in the investigation of the various factors characterizing speech communion as a complex and dynamic process. The development of psycholinguistics, of sociolinguistics and of pragmatics in recent decades has made it possible to discover new parameters and levels of knowledge about language, about its perception and functioning as a means of communication. This fact points also to the need of a new and complex approach in the investigation of the factors accompanying and determining the character of perception in foreign-language training. It is not only the phonetic, the lexical-semantic and the syntactic specificities which are significant in the process of foreign-language training, but also the national and cultural specificities of the language studied, the social, cultural and professional competence of those studying it, and a number of other factors. A number of achievements from the field of psychology[1,2] may serve as a theoretical basis in investigating and analysing these factors.

Mankind has been developing its mental powers and capacities throughout the millennia of its history,

and this fact is related to the problem of how the individual accepts and assimilates the achievements of the historical development of society. The human psyche is formed not through the impact of "verbal stimuli", but is the result of the process of assimilating the culture. Actual reality is cognized only in the process of human activity directed toward that reality, whereby "... language is the basic system of auxiliary means of the psychic activity. The mastery of the language reveals most clearly how the external forms of the speech communication, transferred into the internal place, become forms of speech behaviour".[3] Consequently, the structure of the mental operations is erected under the influence of external reality, while the role of the language in this process is reduced to the following: by replacing the individual fragments of the internal operations, speech becomes a symbolic activity, i.e. linguistic thinking. In this manner language fixes specimens of external reality, transformed into mental operations. Analysing the interrelations between language and thinking, the psychic development of the individual may be viewed as "social development conditioned by the environment"[4], while the psychic functions are interiorized relations of a social order, a foundation for the social structure of speech.

The problem of the adequate perception, understanding and reproduction of linguistic models in the process of speech communication (at its different levels of realization) is one of the principal aspects of the contemporary linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic studies whose elucidation determines to a large extent the most expedient functioning of the various kinds of mass communications and the effective teaching of the humanities.

The investigations into the different factors, which have a bearing and influence on the process of foreign-language teaching, are directly linked to the theoretical formulations already commented upon, while from the viewpoint of practical requirements they have been repeatedly the object of discussion and of experimental observations by a number of authors. Establishing the parameters of the national-culture specificities of the native language and their influence on the learning of the foreign language has been the object of numerous studies, among them the work done by Robert Chatel[5] on certain elements of speech etiquette in the Greek and English languages. In the words of the author,

> "Please" and "thank you" pose a problem for Greek learners of English because the words are often taught as "equivalent" to "σε παρακαλώ". In English it is quite difficult to be polite or to be considered polite if one does not say "thank you" in most situations in which a service is performed, or something is given or done for one ... In Greek politeness seems to be accomplished in many requests by intonation and paralinguistic features of the utterance ...

The problem of being acquainted with the country whose language is studied by a particular foreigner has been treated by Edgar Joycey:[6]

> How many teachers have had the opportunity to live in, not just visit, England? A quick look through the text will reveal that in many cases not only is a contact with the culture provided; it is necessary to know about the culture and way of life in order to understand the text. After all, much reading is to do with relating the text to the real world: the English world. Explanations are necessary, explanations which the teacher can't give.

In the context of the two publications mentioned above I would like to mention also the investigation by

Raija Markkanen[7], which makes an interesting contrastive observation and comparison of the use of generally accepted expressions in oriented speech in English and Finnish; in the second place, the author quoted compares how inserted phrases of the kind "I believe / you know" are conveyed in Finnish - phrases that are frequent in English and vary rare in Finnish. Markkanen defines these inserted phrases as cases when the same pragmatic functions can be grammaticized in different ways in the different languages, and this signifies that the traditional semantico-syntactic analysis is not sufficient. In the publication quoted Markkanen compares also the demonstrative pronouns "this", "that" and "it" in English with the Finnish "tämä", "tuo" and "se", through which various aspects of the statement can be decoded. Demonstrative pronouns belong to the words by means of which it is possible to establish connection between what has been said by the speaker and the basic orientation centre of the statement, and the comparative investigation undertaken points to the broad amplitude of their functioning, the explanation of which leaves the framework of grammar and pragmatics and is closer to sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. This is particularly true of the cases when the demonstrative pronouns carry a significant social and emotional charge. In the last chapter of her monograph R. Markkanen compares the use of "please" in the English language to the "ole hyvä" which is sometimes accepted as lexically grammatical equivalent in Finnish:

> Languages contain elements, words and phrases that do not render themselves to normal semantic and grammatical analysis but can be adequately described only through reference to their contexts of use, i.e. items such as "thank you", "all right", "OK" and "please". That this is the case is seen for example in the way dictionaries treat these

> items: often they do not even attempt to describe their meanings but give examples of the contexts in which they are used. Bilingual dictionaries, however, sometimes also give equivalents in the other language even when there is only a partial functional correspondence between the items, e.g. they might give "ole hyvä" as the Finnish equivalent for "please", although this information is partly misleading. Yet, it is obvious that these items play an important part in social interaction.... Consequently, learning to use them correctly is not insignificant for the foreign-language learners, particularly since they might be misled by the partial pragmatic equivalence between the foreign expression and one in their mother tongue.

The considerations adduced thus far, both from a theoretical aspect and on a practical plane, indicate that the process of mastering a foreign language is a rather complex and multiplanar one, connected as it is not only with the specificities - phonetic, lexical, morphological and syntactic - of the language studied, but also with the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic specificities of the native language of the learner, which influence the process of assimilating the new language. The interference of these specificities can be examined and analysed at all levels of the linguistic structure where it is possible to have impact and influence at which two types of interference[8] - real and potential - can sometimes be determined. The real interference leads to errors which largely depend on the degree of mastery of the new language, on the individual feeling for the language, on the concrete situation, etc. The potential interference could be viewed as a system of errors which could be predicted and prognosticated after comparative analysis at the particular levels of the two linguistic systems - that of the native language of the learner and the system of the foreign language taught.

In our opinion, the cases of real and potential

interference can be examined as linguistic, socio- and psycholinguistic degrees on a scale of interference. What do we mean by linguistic, socio- and psycholinguistic interference? We may examine as linguistic those cases of influence which originate from the native language and are apparent in the phonetics, morphology, word-formation, syntax, punctuation, graphics, spelling and stress or accent. It should be expected that the cases of linguistic interference are more extensive in languages that are more akin to one another, i.e. when the new language has essential similarities in its linguistic structure with the native language of the learner. The socio- and psycholinguistic interference could be interpreted as the influence of the following factors:[9]

a. Factors connected with the cultural tradition of the country of the foreign students (in terms of origin and relation to native language);
b. Factors connected with the social status of the trainees;
c. Factors originating from ethno-psycholinguistic specificities inherent in the various nationalities;
d. Factors conditioned by the presence in the thesaurus of a given community of certain specific reactions, concepts, traditional images, comparisons and symbols; and
e. Factors originating from the system of kinetic means (facial expression, gestures) typical of each nationality.

A study of these factors which give rise to a number of influences in the process of assimilating the new language, and later upon its use as a means of communication, would make it possible to form a comprehensive idea about the real and potential interferences. This may

turn out to be a major future task of pragmatics whose place is still being sought somewhere between linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. In its capacity as a continuation of hermeneutics and rhetoric, pragmatics could be in a position to summarize - specially for the purposes of foreign-language teaching - all basic factors, particularly those of a socio- and psycholinguistic nature, which are extremely important stages on a scale of the real and potential interferences. At this juncture I would like to make a specific mention of the views formulated by Geoffrey Leech[10], and shared by the author, that the nature of a given language may be understood only if we treat pragmatics as a study of language in the process of its functioning as a means of communication, and that the difference between pragmatics and semantics lies in the different definitions by which these two linguistic trends define meaning; in pragmatics it is connected with the bearer of the language, whereas in semantics meaning is defined only as a quality belonging to a given expression, detached from the situation, from the speaker and from the listener.

When pragmatics is examined from such an aspect the possibility is created of very close "cooperation" with psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics for optimization of the process of foreign-language teaching, by clarifying the socio- and psycholinguistic factors of interference in the perception of a foreign language.

With the exceptional facilities existing nowadays, and by using various kinds of audio-visual and television equipment, videotexts and computers, matched by the achievements of the century-old philological and linguistic investigations interpreted also in sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects, we could really

speak of and implement a complex approach to the teaching of language and culture in the process of foreign-language teaching.

NOTES

[1] Выготский Л.С. История развития высших психических функций. "Развитие высших психических функций", Москва, 1960, стр. 198. (L.S. Vygotskiy, *History of Development of Higher Psychic Functions*)

[2] Леонтьев А.Н. Об историческом подходе в изучении психики человека. "Психологическая наука в СССР", Москва, 1959, стр. 9–44. (A.N. Leontiev, *On the Historical Approach of Studying the Human Psyche*)

[3] Гальперин П.Я. К исследованию развития ребенка. Вопросы психологии, No.1, Москва, 1969, стр. 15–26 (P.Y. Galperin, *On the Study of Child Development*).

[4] L.S. Vygotskiy, op.cit.

[5] R. Chatel "Language Functions and Politeness in Greek and English", *Foreign Language Learning and Inter-Personal Tolerance and Understanding*, vol. 4, Thessaloniki, 1986, p.470

[6] E. Joycey "Reading the English Language or Reading the English People", *Foreign Language Learning and Inter-Personal Tolerance and Understanding, vol.4, Thessaloniki*, 1986, p.360

[7] R. Markkanen, "Cross-Language Studies in Pragmatics", *Juvaskyla Cross-Language Studies* No. 11 Juvaskyla 1985, p.87.

[8] Михневич А.Е. /ред./ Русский язык в Белоруссии. Минск, 1985, стр. 60–121. (A.E. Mihnevich (ed.) *Russian Language in Byelorussia*)

[9] Леонтьев А.А. Национальные особенности коммуникации как междисциплинарная проблема. Объем, задачи и методы этнопсихолингвистики. "Национально-культурная специфика речевого поведения". Москва, 1977, стр. 5 (A.A. Leontiev, "National Specificities of Communication as an Interdisciplinary Problem". Volume, *Objectives and Methods of Ethnopsycholinguistics*).

[10] G.H. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, London, Longman, 1983.

SATELLITE TELEVISION, NATIONAL TELEVISION AND VIDEO IN TEACHING/LEARNING LESS WIDELY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

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This paper analyses the need to teach/learn less widely taught languages and cultures in the world today and points out some ways of accomplishing the task. Special attention is given to satellite television, national television and video in the implementation of the teaching/learning process. The following theses are proposed:

1. Culturally-embedded relevant information generates motivation to teach/learn less widely taught languages, promotes growth of the individual and releases cross-cultural understanding.
2. Under *in vitro* conditions, the potential of television and video makes it possible to convey authentic culture-saturated information to supervised audiences, non-supervised audiences and to individual learners.

Recent decades witnessed the emergence of a positive phenomenon, i.e. a growing concern about the teaching and learning of foreign languages. However, this interest - mainly instrumental in character - was rarely associated with the development of cross-cultural awareness, let alone understanding. Pertinent to the subject of our consideration is the emergence of interest in the teaching and learning of the less widely taught languages of Europe. This new concern and the new development may prove to make a significant impact upon the peoples of Europe and of other continents.

First, let us take a close look at man's situation in the modern world. Man today does not seem to be

able to find his place in the world; he often does not know where to drop his anchor. Living in a constant stream of stimuli from the outside world of a very high frequency and speed, man finds it more and more difficult to adapt and to function meaningfully in multiple, ever-changing life-contexts. Eventually, he becomes alienated from society, is prone to stress and comes to the point where he can no longer control himself or his activities.

A great deal is being said and written nowadays about the rights of the individual, the child, the learner. In the area of education, the teachers no longer dwell on the top of the traditional pyramid; the learner has taken over. It is a matter of general observation and/or experience that the learner becomes more and more sophisticated day by day. On the one hand, he

- demands of the teacher a reasoned argument for his programme,
- expects the fulfilment of his cognitive needs,
- wants his affective requirements and aspirations to be satisfied,
- seeks self-actualisation and realisation of his unique personality.

On the other hand, the learner is not always aware of the fact that he is not a helpless victim of the stimuli, but a rational human being able to control processes of the mind and to develop strategies which may influence and change these processes.

As a consequence of the tremendous acceleration and very high tempo of living, the learner does not have enough time to think of and to develop his self-concept, to realise or actualise it. Gradually, he

arrives at this dangerous corner of present-day civilisation where individuals - even those moulded by the same culture - find it difficult to communicate with understanding. Not at all isolated are the cases where there is a lack of willingness and receptiveness on the part of the partners in the exchange. In some cases, an emotional fog sets in, leading to the formation of a psychic barrier; the partners become susceptible to the misinterpretation of their utterances and to misunderstanding. There seem to be grounds to hypothesise that many of the phenomena discussed above are the result of the fact that man today, more often than not, is rootless: either he does not know, or does not want to know, or is not aware of his roots and his cultural heritage.

There are many countries where, for various reasons, historical, economic or others, languages other than the official one are used by large or small communities. It is a general observation that children in such communities lack motivation to learn their parents' language and refrain from using it even at home. By growing up with the subconscious feeling that the language and culture of their parents are something worse than the ones they are submerged in, they become liable to developing feelings of inferiority and an oppressed consciousness which are a roadblock to the formation of one's self-concept and personality.

Learners should find motivation to study the language and the culture, both at home and at school. One might expect that the old users of the language would motivate the young to study and use it. But this is rarely the case. In fact, the old do not always have the necessary motivation. School teachers should constantly be aware of the fact that by teaching the language, they, in reality, teach the culture which the language conveys

and creates. At home, the learner should grow up in the atmosphere of looking at the language as a means of getting access to the cultural wealth of the community, of widening his horizon, of gaining an accurate and broad perspective of life, of enriching his experience and acquiring a more profound understanding of other cultures and peoples. Furthermore, the learner needs to grow up to the awareness that knowing new cultural values gives him an additional dimension to perceive and co-create reality.

Each culture has produced certain values which have unique significance for a given society. But, there are also values generated by a given culture which can enrich and contribute to the development of other cultures and other communities. To mention but a few, the unique love of wisdom and the intellectual modesty of the Greek culture enriched us all, so did the affirmation of life we owe to the Irish culture. Thus, by inculcating into the learner's mind the idea that he is not so much a language and culture taker as a language and culture sharer and giver, we will protect the learner from developing feelings of inferiority and we will contribute to his authentic growth as an individual and as a social person. Awareness and appreciation of his own culture will help the learner in the formation of self-concept and, at the same time, will help him find his place in the community and in the world.

And now, how can we translate this speculative message into "down-to-earth" pragmatics? In the teaching/learning circuit, we need to consider the learner, the teacher, the material, and the method. So far, we have analysed the needs of the learner. The

teacher's responsibility is quite "simple": among many other things, he needs linguistic competence and fluency in the respective cultures. And now, what about materials? Observation of and visits to classrooms tell us that languages are often taught/learned in a cultural vacuum. Paradoxically, much is being said and written about the significance of the cultural element in the process of language acquisition. One is tempted to say that not only an element, but a complex molecule of culture with multiple ramifications, is needed to make the process more efficient. Naturally, it is not possible to expose the learner to the entire culture of the community whose language he is studying. A judicious selection needs to be made of the areas of culture that should be given priority. In the designing and preparation of the teaching/learning materials it seems justified to conduct the selection along the following lines:

- phenomena which are unique to a given culture;
- those which are universal to all cultures;
- those which are similar in the respective cultures;
- and those differing in the respective cultures.

Thus, in the preparation of teaching/learning materials and in the teaching of a less widely used language and culture, it seems justified to start off and give priority to phenomena which are unique to a given culture. By doing so, we may hope to satisfy the affective requirements of learners, to reduce the affective filter and to strengthen their motivation. Next, priority should be given to phenomena generated by a given culture which are universal in character. This, it can be assumed, will also contribute to the development of the learner's motivation, interest and affective-set for learning. The third priority should be given to converging phenomena, i.e. to cultural similarities. By making the learner aware of mutual

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problems and sets of experiences shared by both cultures, we may hope to reduce the barrier of strangeness, improve motivation and receptiveness. Finally, the points of cultural divergence should be considered. With the knowledge of the phenomena and values discussed above, it will be easier for the learner to develop cross-cultural awareness, understanding and tolerance. He will learn to appreciate cultural and linguistic diversity at home and elsewhere and will achieve his full potential as a citizen of his country and of the world.

An encouraging phenomenon about our present-day civilization is that it does not only generate more information and pose new problems, but it also creates new possibilities to solve them. In education, we are constantly being offered new media and new possibilities to create authentic materials to implement the teaching/learning process and make it more efficient. However, in spite of what has been written and said in recent decades about the modern, powerful media and materials, their potential has not been adequately tapped so far. What seems to be lacking is an overall philosophy and motivation so that we all perform our tasks in a responsible way. By "us" I mean the learner, the teacher, the curriculum planner, the designer, the producer and the manufacturer of the teaching/learning material, the research team, the educational authorities, and - last, but not least - the general public. We all need a new philosophy that would affect our rethinking, reorientation and re-education; a new philosophy that would, among other things, make us aware of the fact that through knowing languages and cultures, we begin to comprehend human experience and its significance. Thus, our number one task is to work out such a phil-

osophy and to disseminate it across lands and cultures.

As far as the problem of disseminating information and ideas is concerned, there are potential media to do the job for us. Keeping in mind what Richard Sherrington (1973) said,"Each technological resource will be used only when it has a unique contribution to make to the learning process", we reach for television. Because of its potential, television is the most powerful and most efficient means of communication. For the purpose of disseminating information and ideas which concern us all, i.e. emitting a kind of "common denominator" programmes, satellite television should be employed. National television could be called upon to perform the job it can do best. First of all, it can reflect the problems of a given society and play an integrative role. It can provide language and culture teaching/learning materials to teach as many languages and cultures as there is a need for in a given society. The programmes prepared for national television can be used by supervised audiences, non-supervised audiences as well as individual spectators. The potential of television can be used to illustrate, diachronically and synchronically, significant human experience and how the language has been functioning and used for understanding and communication. Care should be taken to make linguistic and cultural television courses available in properly organized conditions; first of all, they should be accompanied by ramified, integrated support materials.

Television is a tele-video technique which can reach and satisfy the needs of wide circles of viewers. However, for teaching/learning purposes, we need a medium which can provide easy access and short distance inter-

action. As we know, such media have been with us for some time now, for example, personal access computers and video discs. The potential and the capacity of both are immense. Among other things, the disc can remember hundreds and hundreds of programmes and lessons and the release of its potential is at the learner's finger tips. At the same time, a video disc allows for greater flexibility: it can be used with large audiences and by individual learners; it can be used to learn material previously acquired, to review material already discussed, to provide interactive practice, to expand vocabulary and structures, and to develop various language skills. Material requiring volumes of print can be recorded on a single video disc.

A task which calls for urgent solution in the context of teaching/learning less widely taught languages is the model of the T/L process. Various approaches, methods and techniques and many proposals have been put forward in recent decades. The best or the most efficient has not been found yet. Much theoretical and applied effort is needed in order to work out an approximation of an optimum model. Taking into consideration the needs of the learner, his aspirations and requirements as an individual and as a social person, it seems justified to suggest a humanistic/communicative model of teaching and learning less widely taught languages: the former would provide for the growth of the learner, the formation of his self-concept, his mind and personality; the latter would help the learner to relate to the outside world.

In this paper, we have touched upon the immersion of modern man and the learner in the contemporary world

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and analysed the need to learn less widely taught languages and cultures in the light of the learners' vital requirements. We placed satellite television, national television and video at the centre of attention, pointing to the potential of these media as vehicles for conveying the necessary philosophy and authentic, relevant, culturally-significant materials; the materials to teach/learn other languages and cultures in order to achieve full potential as citizens of our respective societies and of the world. This symposium and its organizers who were able to get together a number of scholars from various European countries will, let us hope, take steps which will be instrumental in setting up working groups to initiate, assist and co-ordinate the endeavours of many nations and organizations in the area of teaching/learning the less widely taught languages of Europe. The following research areas should be considered:

- working out a new philosophy leading to rethinking and re-education for the future;
- designing and preparing an integrated use of materials, methods and techniques to be applied via satellite television, national television networks and video;
- setting up electronic and retrieval systems and making them available to handle information concerning FLT materials, methods, media and techniques;
- initiating cross-cultural research projects into the teaching/learning of the less widely used languages of Europe.

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CAN THE GAP BETWEEN "LESSER USED" AND "LESS WIDELY TAUGHT" LANGUAGES BE BRIDGED? A STATUS CHALLENGE FOR IRISH

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Introduction and Background

Should the title of this paper, "Can the gap between "lesser used" and "less widely taught" languages be bridged? A status challenge for Irish", be considered somewhat unwieldy and its focus rather obscure, part of the reason lies in the circumspect phraseology which has been chosen by international bodies to refer to two kinds of languages, or more accurately, to two kinds of language communities to which Irish and Irish speakers are assigned. Irish seems to be alone among the tongues of Europe in being at once a "minority" language and a "national" language, in having a foot in both camps or categories, as it were. This paper aims to examine the special position of Irish from both perspectives, with a view to clarifying its national and international standing, and with a view to identifying shared concerns of language communities, big and small.

The term "lesser used language" has gained currency in the European Communities where it is employed as a more or less neutral circumlocution for "minority language", cf. the following comments on "Terminological Definitions" in a Communities' Document (European Communities - Commission 1986, p. 23):

> There is a very lively debate on the terms "minority", "minority language", etc. These terms are generally rejected by the minorities themselves: they consider them as evaluative terms, laden with disrespectful and negative connotations.... Uncertainties regarding these terms sometimes produce strange variations: the Bureau for Lesser Used Languages uses the expression

"lesser used language", in order to avoid any negative impression.

The evolution of the term "less widely taught languages of Europe" is somewhat convoluted. Essentially, it refers in the first instance to all the national languages of Europe, with the exception of what might be called "the big four", i.e. English, French, German, and Russian. Current UNESCO interest in these languages derives from the concern of the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe about

> encouraging the study of foreign languages and civilizations as an important means of expanding communication among peoples for their better acquaintance with the culture of each country, as well as for the strengthening of international co-operation

which led it to advocate

> the diversification of choice of languages taught at various levels, paying due attention to less widely-spread or studied languages.

However, the terminology employed in this general context cannot be said to have yet become clearly formulated, reference being made on different occasions to "the teaching of less widely-spread European languages", to "less widely used languages", to "teachers of languages that are less widely used or studied in that region", to "little taught or studied European languages", to "the teaching and study of less-used European languages, according to the list prepared by the participants at the meeting". This latter meeting, organized by UNESCO in Venice in May 1986, identified "the creation of an international information and documentation centre on

the teaching and didactics of European languages" as "a pertinent objective". With regard to the list of national languages enumerated at this conference the following was said:

> A preliminary list was drawn up ...., and is attached as an annex, to the present recommendations. This work could later include other languages, as no European language either can or should be a-priori excluded from the fields to be covered.

This paper's concern with "minority" or "lesser used languages" as well as national languages is accordingly quite in keeping with the central areas of interest of the UNESCO-backed movement which has given rise to our own Dublin symposium on what is here being styled "the less widely taught languages of Europe".

In an attempt to achieve clarity and to save time I shall regularly refer to the four "widely used languages" - English, French, German and Russian - as "international languages", and use "national languages" and "minority languages" as shorthand for "less widely taught" national languages and "lesser used languages", respectively.

Restricted National Languages

The Venice Consultation adverted primarily to the fact that the national languages do not have facilities for disseminating useful information to researchers and teachers, and that this lack "hinders considerably the diffusion of these languages, whatever their cultural or political status may be". But practical international circumstances impose other restrictions on these non-international languages, even where they are afforded recognition. For example, the current position

in the European Communities is that there are nine "official languages" and "working languages" (*Official Journal of the European Communities* 15.11.1985, p. 242):

> The official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Community shall be Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish.
>
> Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the nine official languages.
>
> The *Official Journal of the European Communities* shall be published in the nine official languages.

(We shall address the question of the international status of Irish later.) While these articles imply that all nine languages are equal, in practice it seems that some are more equal than others. One suspects that debate and discussion take place mostly in English and French, that it is in these languages that decisions are first formulated and agreed. The equal validity of the other seven languages is essentially then that the practice is to translate into them, although even here it may well be that German and Italian have been enjoying a precedence over the other five languages. The point I wish to make is that it seems that the recognition accorded national languages other than the big four international ones in international organizations and at international gatherings is likely to become increasingly passive and secondary, to be merely the right to have end decisions translated into various national languages.

At this stage it is relevant to cite as a case-study the practice of the United Nations Secretariat as investigated by Marie-Josée Jastrab (1984), cf.

> In 1946, the original members adopted Resolution 2 (I) which established that two languages, English and French, were to be used by the Secretariat in servicing the principal organs of the United Nations and in administering the programs and policies laid down by them.... Subsequently four other languages were added as the working languages of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council: Arabic, Chinese, Russian and Spanish. The policy establishing bilingualism for the Secretariat never changed. (p.7)

The actual position obtaining within the Secretariat is summarized by Jastrab and worth quoting here:

> English is predominant in all fields of activity. The number of documents published at United Nations Headquarters originating in English represents about 80% of the total amount of documents. However, this percentage in itself does not give us a clear picture of the state of bilingualism in the Secretariat since it includes not only reports written by Secretariat staff members but also papers submitted to the Secretariat by governments. What this percentage indicates however is the visible vitality of English. Fishman's notion of *visible vitality* (1971:230) is a useful measure to determine the extent to which languages are actually employed natively for one or more vital functions. French is in this respect sometimes referred to as a translation language with approximately 10% of all United Nations documents originating in French. The other four official languages share the remaining 10%, with Spanish being the most-used language within this group. Documents published in French are often documents translated from English into French. (p.21)

International organisations and gatherings therefore clearly form one sociolinguistic domain in which the international languages seem likely to consolidate their position. Thus, representatives of language groups X, Y and Z will employ English or Russian, or whatever, while participating in the decision-making process, but the end results will be available in languages X, Y and Z,

as well as English or Russian. Perhaps even more significantly - and ominously, bilateral communication between language groups X and Y and Z will also usually be via English or Russian. And this, it seems to me, is the kind of tendency which the movement on behalf of the less widely taught/used languages of Europe should not merely implicitly, but also explicitly, set its face against. In the absence of considered appraisal of the problem by the affected restricted national language communities, and more particularly, in the absence of identified, relevant, realistic and structured roles for these second-tier languages, the big four international languages seem set (i) to extend the scope of their employment in international communication and (ii) to impinge increasingly on the national languages within their own borders - in fact to expose them to pressures similar to those which reduced Irish to the position of an insecure national minority language and which now militate against its rehabilitation. Examples in Western Europe come readily to mind. Not only are the mass media of films and television programmes dominated by Anglo-American imports purchased by national stations, but the advent of satellite transmission has seen the beaming of English-language channels (Super and Sky) into homes in something like 20 countries. Airline pilots have long been priding themselves on their command of English in communicating with passengers and airport control. But the use of English at airports is steadily increasing: it is used bilingually along with the "local" national language on signs and in loud-speaker announcements to travellers, while I have just recently noticed its use - to the exclusion of the local national language - on television screen monitors in Scandinavia at least, where directions such as "Go to Gate 23" appear in

English only. Again, international business transactions and, in particular, the affairs of Western multinational corporations seem to be facilitating and spreading the use of English especially, be it by way of correspondence or telex messages, by direct inter-personal conversation or by telephone. This constant dealing with English for the international aspects of business is reinforced locally by English-speaking computer technology and the adoption of English as a lingua franca by the branches of multinational companies, which have a work-force of mixed nationalities. The net result of this type of environment is the extension of the international languages, mainly English, into domestic business, where it is not really essential. It is essential for a company's international dealings, which are then facilitated by its being optionally used in internal, domestic preparations for the international dealings. This can lead to incongruous situations, such as Dutch citizens being taken aback in their own city of Amsterdam, when, on entering an office, they are addressed by their compatriots in English rather than in Dutch.

Linguistic Minorities

The Document of the Commission of the European Communities already referred to (European Communities-Commission 1986) sets out on p.22 "'objective' and 'subjective' parameters" for characterizing linguistic minorities. Among the objective parameters outlined are

> the fact that a language is spoken which is genetically and structurally different from the language (or languages) used on an official level in the country to which the minority belongs;

...

> the fact that a minority has cultural, religious or other traditions which are different from those which are more widespread in the host country;

...

> the fact that a minority collectively claims recognition for its linguistic, cultural, administrative and political autonomy, to various degrees and extent, in relation to those of the majority of the host country.

...

While the subjective parameters include

> the perception of a strong feeling of loyalty in relation to one's own mother tongue, and to the cultural, religious and other traditions which this expresses;
>
> the fact that one's own language and culture are perceived as "other", that is to say, autonomous and independent, in relation to the culture of the majority of the country in which the minority resides;

Of course, the Document concedes that "Each minority will present these parameters in more or less complex mixtures" (pp. 22-3). We shall see shortly just how much the position of Irish diverges from the general typology.

Time constraints and the focus of this symposium preclude any detailed consideration of the particular problems of minority languages. But, in general, one may observe that these consist of languages, which are relatively weak numerically within their State boundaries and whose use is adversely affected by the lack or inadequacy of State recognition. These disadvantages are in turn counterbalanced only by the linguistic minority's sense of group solidarity. I

think it would not be rash to transfer this analysis to the position of the restricted national languages vis-à-vis the supra-national big four. These restricted national languages are weak numerically when viewed within the overall Continent of Europe perspective, and more so within the shrinking global village context. Indeed, it is certainly the global importance of English, French and Russian (Spanish is - as yet - an exception) which largely accounts for their predominance within Europe itself. The national languages also lack practical recognition; in their case this manifests itself in the linguistic practices of international organizations. But unlike most linguistic minorities at risk, the national communities are either unaware of the insidious threat to their linguistic stability which confronts them or have hitherto failed to respond meaningfully - at least prior to the UNESCO series of gatherings of which we are part.

Community Use of Irish

Turning now to the particular case of the Irish language, we shall see that although the level of actual community use of Irish places it in the minority or lesser used category, the attitudes and aspirations of a majority of the citizens of the Republic of Ireland, acknowledging it as a national language, confer on Irish a status to which most other minority languages can scarcely aspire - although there may be some exceptions, such as Welsh and Catalan. Importantly, official policy affirms this majority attitudinal position in Ireland. However, it will also be seen that this latter recognition may have the weaknesses of being ambivalent and not being pursued consequentially at an international level.

The latest available Census returns (for 1981) show

that there were 58,026 speakers of the language in the traditionally Irish-speaking or *Gaeltacht* areas, mostly situated on the western sea-board. Whereas these comprise only about 1.5% of the population of the Republic of Ireland, a total of 1,018,413 persons aged three years or over, that is 31.6% of the population, were returned as "Irish speakers", with a further 268,957 persons or 8.3% of the population being recorded as able to read but not to speak Irish. As Census statistics were the only general source of information on competence in Irish available until the 1970s, there were persistent doubts as to the reliability of the picture which they conveyed. But since the early 1970s the comprehensive application of the empirical methodology of the social sciences to sociolinguistic research has transformed our picture of Ireland's bilingual state. Two country-wide surveys allow a plausible correlation to be made with the Census figures, so that it is possible to define more closely the standard of language ability in Irish being claimed by Census respondents. CLAR (1975, p. 129) employed a 16-level Guttman scale of conversational ability and found that the top 30% of its sample included some 3% with "Native speaker ability", 10% capable of "Most conversations" and 17% capable of "Parts of conversations". CLAR (1975, p.129) elaborates with respect to the 30% in question, which is close to the 1971 Census figure of 28.3% "Irish speakers":

> This would include some (10%-12%) people with only partial conversation skills, with some difficulty finding the right word, thinking quickly enough to keep pace with conversations, and some to much difficulty using the correct grammar etc.

For most people Irish is a second language, acquired via the school system. With regard to public attitudes

to Irish. CLAR (1975, p.28) amalgamated a large number of questions in order to determine the "expressed favourability (of Respondents) towards the Irish language as a symbol of Ethnic or National Identity and towards public efforts to guarantee its transmission" and found that some 44% held positive attitudes, 21% held negative attitudes, while 35% were in more or less neutral intermediate categories. The evidence of Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984, pp.4-15, 23-30) suggests that the negative group may have since dwindled to perhaps 15% or less. Both the 1973 and 1983 country-wide surveys offered respondents the opportunity to choose an ideal language situation by asking: "If everyone in Ireland could speak English and Irish equally well, which would you prefer: to speak English only, Irish only or both?". In 1973 25% opted for English only, 9% for Irish only and an overwhelming majority of 66% for some form of bilingualism. By 1983 those opting for English only had declined to 18%, while those favouring Irish only rose to 12%. Support for the various bilingual preferences also rose, giving a combined total of 70%. Finally, we may note that the 1983 survey indicates public support in the region of 75% for Irish language broadcasting on television, for official use of Irish and for Government assistance for voluntary organizations promoting the use of the Irish language.

One of the most useful services rendered by these sociological surveys has been to complement their information on Irish language ability and attitudes with a profile of actual societal use of the language. Of course, it has to be borne in mind that the information as to use is also of the self-report type, and not the result of objective observation and measurement of linguistic interaction. Outside the traditionally

Irish-speaking districts the levels of use of Irish are actually quite low. In 1983 18% of respondents reported that they had used Irish "Often" or "Several times" in conversation since leaving school, with only 5% saying that they had written Irish. Home use of Irish "Often/Always" was reported by 5% in 1983, while 6% spoke Irish at work "At least weekly/Less than weekly" in 1983.

Statements of Official Policy

The 1937 Constitution had stated in Article 8:

1. The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.

2. The English language is recognised as a second official language.

3. Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or in any part thereof.

The 1956 legislation establishing a separate Government department for the Irish-speaking districts gave expression to the State's dual objectives of preserving Irish where it was still spoken as the vernacular and of extending its use to other parts of the country, as well as stating explicitly the State's overall linguistic aim:

> It shall be the function of the Department of the Gaeltacht to promote the cultural, social and economic welfare of the Gaeltacht; to encourage the preservation and extension of the use of Irish as a vernacular language; and, to such extent as may be necessary or appropriate to consult and advise with other Departments of State in respect of services administered by such Departments of State which affect the cultural, social or economic welfare of the Gaeltacht or which concern the national aim of restoring the national language.

Section 17 of The Broadcasting Authority Act of 1960 contained similar wording:

> In performing its functions, the Authority shall bear constantly in mind the national aims of restoring the Irish language and preserving and developing the national culture ...

Although this official language policy of "restoration" was often popularly interpreted as entailing the replacement of English by Irish, it is ironic that no less a body than the Government constituted Commission on the Revival of Irish which sat from 1958 to 1963, should itself have felt impelled to comment on the term "Revival" in its Introduction to its Final Report:

> Our terms of reference did not give any explanation of the extent or meaning of the Revival, that is, they did not set out the position which it is thought Irish will have when the Revival has been accomplished.

The Commission proceeded:

> What we understand by the Revival is that the people of Ireland shall again have the language as a normal medium of communication and intercourse. That is the aim which the Irish Language Movement has had since its inception and which the political movement which sprang from it has had, and that is the aim with regard to the language had by every native Government there has been since the foundation of the State.

The fact that the Commission felt it incumbent on itself to restate in 1964 what had until then been received Government language policy is probably indicative of a certain underlying disquiet on their part as to the steadfastness of official thinking on the language question. Nevertheless, the Government White Paper on *The Restoration of the Irish Language*, presented to both Houses of the Oireachtas or Irish Parliament in 1965 did

in fact re-affirm State policy in this regard:

> The national aim is to restore the Irish language as a general medium of communication.

But whereas the 1964 Report of The Commission on the Revival of Irish had sought to subordinate the considerable effort involved in restoring the language to the ultimate general goal, the 1965 White Paper gives the first tentative indication of official rethinking on the matter. For no sooner has it stated the national language aim than it proceeds to stress that it is a longer term objective:

> This aim will necessarily take much time and effort to achieve ...

and that a practical plan of action is required:

> Objectives will be set which are reasonable and realisable but which fix no boundary to progress.

One may note in passing that The White Paper on the Restoration of the Irish Language also devotes attention to the importance of English in Ireland. By 1971 a later official advisory council, Comhairle na Gaeilge, was stressing this secondary aspect of objectives in *Towards a Language Policy*, saying

> it is appropriate at this stage to direct all available effort and resources towards a bilingual objective

while acknowledging that

> An Chomhairle's main task is to advise the Government on how the Irish language can be restored as a general medium of communication.

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By the following year, when Comhairle na Gaeilge produced another volume with the firmer title of *Implementing a Language Policy*, the actual aim, ironically enough, had become rather nebulous. It was felt that Irish people, on the one hand

> would recognise the use of and continuing development of the Irish language to be one of the essential elements in preserving their individuality and distinctiveness as a people

but at the same time

> the great majority of Irish people of today value, and would not wish to lose, proficiency in the use of the English language.

And so Comhairle na Gaeilge concludes:

> We, therefore, take it to be the aim of language policy in Ireland to attain a situation which would harmonise these two sets of values. Of necessity, this must be a bilingual situation, the form and extent of which will change with time.

What in retrospect may be seen as a significant pointer to Governmental attitudes to the theoretical and actual position of the Irish language is the status sought for it - and none too openly accorded it - on the Republic of Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community in 1973. In the continued absence of detailed public documentation on the matter, the fullest information available is apparently that contained in a letter dated 29.5.1973 from the Department of the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) to the leading Irish language organisation, Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League). This letter, published and discussed by S. MacMathúna (1979) in *Feasta*,

explains that the Irish Government wished that the pre-eminent position accorded Irish in the national constitution be appropriately and positively acknowledged in the language provisions being then drawn up for the extended Communities. The Irish Government thought that the appropriate way to achieve this would be for Irish to become an official language of the Communities. However, in view of the "great difficulties" pertaining to the translation of all the EEC's instruments into Irish, the Government only intended that Irish be used to provide an authoritative translation of the Treaty of Accession and to prepare official texts of the treaties already in existence. This request of the Irish Department of External Affairs was agreed to by the Community Delegation at a meeting held on 15.10.1972. But in fact Irish is not referred to at all in the various amendments to Regulation No. 1 of 15.4.1958, under Article 217 of the Treaty of Rome, which sets out the official and working languages of the EEC. The Government letter to the Gaelic League already quoted goes on to make it clear that certain Member States of the Community were unwilling to risk any diminution in the status of their own languages vis-à-vis others by the explicit creation of a new, clearly second-level category of "official, but not working language". Finally, the letter stated that it was known that the Community intended to employ staff to reply to correspondence in Irish. On the other hand, it is to be noted that Irish has equal status with the EEC's official and working languages as a procedural language in the European Court of Justice. It would seem that the reason Irish received this recognition was simply that it was officially requested - and that it did not necessarily entail any immediate, practical commitment! Nonetheless, it is worth remarking that all references to this Court emanating from Ireland have

been in English and that the Court lacks both translators and interpreters competent in the Irish language. So the main Brussels arrangement which the Irish Government sought was one which would have replicated many a Dublin formulation, whereby Irish is accorded apparent status, but effectively circumscribed in its use. In the event not even this symbolic recognition was forthcoming. Ironically enough, no attempt has been made to avail of the full validity which Irish enjoys in the European Court. In sum then, the exceedingly restricted recognition sought for and accorded Irish within the broader, international framework of Western Europe may justifiably be interpreted as tacit official acceptance by the authorities in Ireland of the linguistic status quo obtaining in the country, that is to say, by 1973 the bilingual situation in which Irish is very much the minority language was accepted as being likely to persist into the foreseeable future: the highest official circles had evidently reconciled themselves to the prospect of no great extension in the use of the Irish language.

However, the marginalisation of the role of Irish in the overall context of official thinking on contemporary Irish life is perhaps most obvious when the language provision of the 1960 Broadcasting Authority Act, already quoted, is set against its successor in the 1976 Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Act, Section 13:

> In performing its functions the Authority shall in its programming (a) be responsive to the interests and concerns of the whole community, be mindful of the need for understanding and peace within the whole island of Ireland, ensure that the programmes reflect the varied elements which make up the culture of the people of the whole island of Ireland, and have special regard for the elements which distinguish that culture and in particular for the Irish language.

The State's own constitutional assertion of the primacy of the Irish language as "the first official language" has remained almost entirely without practical effect for want of specific enabling legal enactments. Current State objectives are probably best ascertained from the Parliamentary Bills which established two important new semi-State institutions, Bord na Gaeilge and Údarás na Gaeltachta. Bord na Gaeilge (The Board for Irish) on which specific responsibility for promoting the extended use of Irish throughout the State has been devolved, was constituted by a 1978 Act to undertake the following:

> The Board shall promote the Irish language and, in particular, its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication.

Údarás na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht Authority), charged primarily with furthering the economic and social development of the traditionally Irish-speaking districts, and thus with preserving the language, has the following enjoined on it by its 1979 establishing Act:

> An tÚdarás shall encourage the preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language as the principal medium of communication in the Gaeltacht and shall ensure that Irish is used to the greatest extent possible in the performance by it and on its behalf of its functions.

A new interpretation of the general aim with regard to Irish was expressed in the 1980 *White Paper on Educational Development*:

> The national aim is to restore Irish as a means of communication so that the population of the country will be truly bilingual.

It will be noted too that the schools were envisaged in this document as having a disarmingly modest role in relation to even this diluted objective:

> Although the educational system alone cannot achieve this aim, it obviously has an important role to play in the preservation of the language.

One of the latest official publications dealing with general language policy is the 1985 *Language in the Curriculum* discussion paper of the Curriculum and Examinations Board. It summarizes the position of Irish as follows:

> Irish has a unique position in the nation and in our schools. It is enshrined in our constitution as the first official language of the State, it is the mother-tongue of some Irish citizens, including school pupils, and an important aspect of the cultural identity of all Irish citizens.

Despite the comprehensive and sympathetic treatment of the Irish language in the portions of the discussion paper specifically devoted to its consideration, it must be stated that the question of Irish, previously of central concern in the Irish education system, seems rather extraneous to the main thrust both of this document on language and that of the other discussion papers which have emanated from the Curriculum and Examinations Board. For instance, the Chairman of this body, in his foreword to *Language in the Curriculum*, makes just one reference to Irish and that as a mother-tongue, which of course is not her strong point. Instead, Dr. Walsh places his emphasis on mother-tongue education in general and on the acquisition of various foreign languages, such as the modern Continental languages, as well as Russian and Japanese, in the interests of career opportunities.

Finally, in this section of the paper on Government language policy, we may note the setting up in 1984 by the two houses of Parliament of a Joint Committee on the Irish Language, to

> review and make recommendations in relation to: (a) the extension of the use of Irish in the proceedings of the Dáil (Lower House of Parliament) and Seanad (Upper House of Parliament) and in the environs of both Houses, and (b) the promotion of the Irish language in general.

This latter formulation would seem to mark the culmination of the passage of the State language policy from the specific aim of re-establishing Irish as the country's main spoken language, through a stage of identifying intermediate objectives of bilingualism, to an acceptance of bilingualism as a sufficient aim in itself, to this 1984 reversion to a less clearly defined aim of general promotion of the Irish language. However, the aspiration of the Gaelic League's constitution may be taken as a contemporary statement of the traditional aim of the voluntary language movement in Ireland: it speaks of fostering a free and Gaelic National Community, especially by bringing about the establishment of Irish as the usual language of the people of all of Ireland.

The analysis of the position of Irish in the European Economic Community which I have outlined here is essentially one which I have been carrying out over the past six months. However, in preparation for this address to the Symposium on the Less Widely Taught Languages of Europe, I entered into correspondence with the Dublin Office, Commission of the European Communities, seeking clarification of the current status of Irish. As it turns out, the Dublin Office communicated little which would require modification of the fore-

going: in point of fact they actually referred me to the same *Feasta* article, already extensively quoted from! The communications I have received from the Dublin Office state:

> The Irish language has a special status.... It is recognised as the official language of a Member State and all primary legislation is translated into Irish. It may also be used as a working language in the Court of Justice. (2.2.87)

and:

> ... the inference to be drawn from the documents we have already sent you is that Irish is an official language of a member state and that it has special status. (23.3.87)

But in fact this correspondence and the documents referred to, which detail the Communities' official and working languages, do not include Irish as either an official or a working language. The only explicit recognition accorded Irish in EEC documentation is the right to have Irish used to draw up the texts of the Treaties establishing the various Communities and the Treaties amending or supplementing them, and the fact that these Irish-language texts enjoy equal validity with the texts in the official and working languages.

The elusive - if not illusory - nature of this "special status" of Irish is tellingly apparent from the complete absence of any explicit mention of it in the Resolution (No. C 292/96) on the multilingualism of the European Community, adopted by the European Parliament and published in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 8.11.82 (= *Multilingua* 3-1 (1984) 37-8):

Resolution on the multilingualism of the European Community

The European Parliament

- having regard to Article 217 of the EEC Treaty,
- having regard to Articles 1 and 6 of Council Regulation No. 1 of 15 April 1958 as amended by the 1972 and 1979 Acts of Accession,
- having regard to Rule 61 of its Rules of Procedure,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions and the opinions of the Political Affairs Committee and the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport (Doc. 1-306/82),

A. whereas any limitation of the number of languages used by the European Parliament would interfere with the democratic nature of Parliament,

B. whereas discrimination against certain languages in favour of others in the European Parliament would be an infringement of the democratic voting rights of Community citizens as they should be able to elect their representatives exclusively on the basis of political criteria and of who will best represent their interests, without any additional linguistic criteria being laid down,

C. whereas all Members of Parliament are entitled to equal treatment irrespective of their active or passive knowledge of languages,

D. whereas, although the costs entailed by the multilingualism of the Community are considerable, they nevertheless represent only about 2% of the Community's total budget,

1. Unequivocally affirms that the official languages and the working languages of the Community institutions are Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek and Italian;

2. Confirms the rule that there is to be absolute equality between the Community languages, whether used actively or passively, in writing or orally, at all meetings of Parliament and its bodies;

3. Supports any measure to speed up its work and to effect savings in connection with the Community's language arrangements, provided such measures are compatible with the principle that all the languages have equal status;

4. Urges, in particular, continued research into machine translation systems and other technological possibilities which may reduce costs;

5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council.

Failure to secure Irish, at once a minority and a national language, meaningful international recognition may have been facilitated by (i) the internal and external perception of Irish usage as being numerically weak and operating in limited spheres, with consequent clear differentiation between it and all other languages accorded "official and working" status in the EEC, and (ii) the want of international institutionalizing of multi-tier language recognition. At present it is a case of "all" or "nothing". But the desire for the prestige of apparent "absolute equality" between the languages in the "all" category is such that the essentially translation function of the majority of these national languages is seldom adverted to openly.

Irish then has so far failed to bridge the gap between "lesser used" and "less widely taught" languages. It has failed to achieve official and working status in the European Communities, although it does have the toe-hold of being used in the provision of valid translation texts of Accession Treaties. It has also failed to achieve explicit recognition from the European Parliament. Although it has achieved equal status with the EEC's official and working languages as a procedural language in the European Court of Justice at a theoretical level, it has failed to achieve any practical implementation of this status.

The case-history of Irish therefore offers little by way of encouragement to other minority or lesser used language communities aspiring to some international recognition of their existence. However, the UNESCO movement in which we are participating may well provide a

new opening out of the cul-de-sac in which such languages find themselves. Information pooling is obviously a basic prerequisite of any progress. But above all, what seem to be needed are new perceptions and new definings of meaningful cultural and administrative roles for the less widely used national languages. In the absence of appropriate insights and initiatives their passive translation function is obscuring the actual active domination of a few tongues in international communication. More alarmingly, the present situation allows the erosion of national language functions even within national boundaries. Most discouraging of all, it allows the same few dominant languages to act as conduits, in the linking of the national peoples, one to another. The status challenge for Irish and all the restricted national languages is to self-confidently identify cultural and administrative spheres appropriate to each language community. These communities should work together and establish the national and international frameworks and networks which they require, giving particular attention to bilateral and multilateral programmes of exchange and translation. The political and cultural importance of the supranational languages is not to be denied them. But neither should a complacent laissez-faire attitude allow them to adversely affect weaker linguistic communities. The cultural well-being of the individual citizens and manifold communities of Europe demands otherwise. It demands that the challenge to provide them with linguistic opportunities to function to their optimal ability be acknowledged, met, and overcome.

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DUTCH, THE LANGUAGE OF 20,000,000

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Every attempt to stress and strengthen the multilingual aspect of our European continent, every attempt to increase our young people's awareness of the great cultural wealth which knowledge of important less widely taught languages can bring, seems pointless against economic and political power. For he who has this power will always impose his language on the others. Language policy is a policy of rulers. All arguments about "rich" languages, "beautiful" languages, "logical" languages, "highly cultural" languages, etc., are completely meaningless: the language of the powerful will also be the richest language, the most logical, the most cultural; and the subdued and the subordinate should be glad to be compelled to learn it. The language of the powerful can be either a minority or a majority language. It will never be a less widely taught language. People are attracted to the powerful and they try to identify with them as much as they can. This explains why certain languages are so successful the world over.

So what arguments are there that may incite us to learn languages, apart from the fact that some languages are part of the curriculum? First and foremost, we learn languages for communicative purposes, to be able to talk to and exchange ideas with people who speak a different language. Then, for economic purposes, to be able to negotiate with foreigners, and because we hope to improve our economic position. Finally, for social purposes too: knowledge of foreign languages is proof that we belong to an intellectual elite, a bit like playing the piano, as long as

it does not sound too professional.

If it is demand on the part of the students that determines which languages will be taught, then, when we are dealing with a language which we describe as a LWTL, I cannot but wonder why this particular language is less widely taught. Those who call for greater and better teaching of LWTL do have very good arguments, mainly moral arguments, concerning European cooperation and understanding through increased knowledge of European languages and culture, cultural arguments related to the rich past and the promising future of the old continent, even exotic arguments which bring the attraction of foreign countries in line with the languages spoken there. There may also be less praiseworthy arguments, such as the need to bluff in society, to show that one is special by virtue of speaking a few words of Dutch in Poland, or a few words of Turkish in Holland, or maybe by deciphering a Greek inscription, for example. Let's hope that the missionaries of LWTL will be able to convert language heathens. And let's be careful about providing them with sufficient support whenever it is needed to increase awareness.

Every missionary will obviously preach for his own mission and I am expected to do so for Dutch. The title of my paper is borrowed from a publication of the Flemish-Dutch Foundation, *Ons Erfdeel*, which provides excellent information on the history of the Dutch language. I chose this title because it reflects in my opinion some of the feelings that many native speakers of LWTL have in common, i.e. feelings of impotence and frustration: we feel that we are not getting our due share, that we are being deprived of the position we are entitled to at international level; we feel that

our language is more important than others may think; we explain that by what we call a lack of information concerning our language and the people who speak it; and we desperately want to increase this information.

Twenty million Dutch speakers is a lot of people (compared with languages such as Luxemburgian, Danish or Swedish) and twenty million people is not a lot at all (compared with German, English and French). So, Dutch is situated somewhere in between two groups of languages, one which brings you in contact with a large number of Europeans, and the other which is no strong currency beyond its own borders. Within the family of Indo-European languages, Dutch constitutes, together with English and German, the group of West-Germanic dialects. The place of Dutch is half-way between German and English. This can be demonstrated through a number of linguistic features:

the ending of the infinitive:

German	:	hören
Dutch	:	hore(n)
English	:	hear

the present tense:

German	:	höre, hörst, hört, hören (4 forms)
Dutch	:	hoor, hoort, hore(n) (3 forms)
English	:	hear, hears (2 forms)

the definite article:

German	:	der, die, das
Dutch	:	de, het
English	:	the

the inflection of the adjective:

German : -e, -en, -er, ...
Dutch : -e
English : -

Dutch can be geolinguistically defined as the usual language in the Netherlands (with 14 million inhabitants) and in the northern half of Belgium (6 million inhabitants), with two exceptions: in the north, Frisian is spoken as the official language, and in the south, in Brussels, there is a majority of French speakers. Outside Europe, Dutch is spoken in the Antilles and traces of the language remain in Indonesia. Finally, Dutch also gave rise to the only Germanic language which is exclusively spoken outside Europe, namely Afrikaans, which 50 years ago replaced Dutch as one of the official languages of the Republic of South Africa.

The geographical spread of the Dutch language over mainly two countries, the Netherlands and Belgium, has given rise over the years to a number of misunderstandings and difficulties. To mention but a few:

a. the idea that there are two different languages, one spoken north of the political border between the Netherlands and Belgium, and the other spoken south of the border;
b. the use of the word "Holland" meaning the whole country (whereas in fact Holland is only one province of the Netherlands) and the use of the word "Flanders" for the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (whereas Flanders is in fact only two provinces of that region);
c. the use of two different spelling systems (until 1946) in the Netherlands and in Belgium, which reinforced previous misunderstandings.

Since 1946 the cultural integration of the Netherlands and Belgium has been actively promoted by various official and private initiatives. The latest initiative in that respect has been the creation in 1980 of the "Dutch Language Union" by the two governments. The Dutch Language Union is founded on the unity of the language spoken and written in the Netherlands and in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. The Dutch language is recognised as an element crucial to the life of both countries, and to cooperation between them. Therefore, the aim of the Language Union centres on cooperation for the development of the Dutch language, its prestige, its influence abroad, its general dissemination. Work concentrates on a common terminology for legislation and official publications, and on the practical organization of courses in the Dutch language, literature and culture abroad.

The Dutch language is part of the curriculum in about 200 universities abroad, in 30 different countries. In Europe alone there are about 100 universities concerned, of which 25 are in Germany, 13 in the UK, 10 in Italy, 6 in Poland. Furthermore, almost all European countries are represented in the list of Dutch Chairs abroad (among these countries are Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Norway, Austria, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Switzerland).

On the part of those concerned with the teaching of Dutch abroad, there has in the past been considerable demand for an officially recognised Dutch examination for non-native Dutch speakers. This proposal was supported ten years ago by the Belgian and Netherlandic governments and a "Certificate of Dutch as a Foreign Language" was officially introduced in 1977.

The Language Union Treaty in 1980 confirmed and strengthened the official status of the certificate: the Treaty states that "both governments agree upon common norms of testing for the common awarding of the certificate". This "Certificate of Dutch as a Foreign Language" is a unit-credit certificate scheme which enables learners of Dutch to acquire separate certificates on three different levels for the four skills. The examinations of the Certificate of Dutch are long-distance examinations in that they are prepared and corrected by a central examiners' board and administered by local examiners. The scientific and organizational aspects of the project have been entrusted to a Dutch-Belgian team, based in the Université Catholique de Louvain in Louvain-la-Neuve. From Louvain-la-Neuve the exam papers are sent to the examiners. As a rule, the examiners are Professors of Dutch abroad. The examiners all receive the same assignments and send the candidates' copies back to Louvain-la-Neuve where the decision as to the awarding of certificates is taken. In this way, an international unity for the awarding of the certificate can be reached, and it does not matter therefore whether the applicant takes the examination in Paris, Berlin or Pennsylvania.

Belgium and the Netherlands being members of the European Community, in the Institutions of that Community (the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the European Commission and the Court of Justice), Dutch is considered an official language and is used as a working language. Recognition as an official language implies that all documents addressed to Dutch speakers by the European Institutions are in Dutch. Recognition as a working language implies that Dutch can be used within the European Institutions and also in all

contacts with the outside. Government representatives and experts may therefore, if they choose to, use Dutch in meetings, and official reports will also be in Dutch.

Anyone who tries to assess the number of people involved in one way or another in translating and interpreting will arrive at the conclusion that many of the people employed by the European Institutions earn their living through European multilingualism. Some will therefore be found to devote a lot of time and effort trying to limit in one way or another the number of languages used. The aim of all this time and effort is perhaps to save the taxpayers' money; it may, however, also be inspired by nationalist considerations, since whoever can use his mother tongue in negotiations most certainly has a distinct advantage over those who can't; it may even be inspired by sombre political motivations. To quote European Member of Parliament, Pol Marck, on that subject (in *Europa van Morgen*, 28.1.1987):

> I too realize what translating and interpreting represent in terms of cost for the European Parliament, but I consider this as unavoidable. A representative in the European Parliament is not chosen for his knowledge of languages, but for other reasons. Should a European M.P. only know one language, then he should be able to carry out his work in the only language he knows. Obviously someone like that would be at a disadvantage, but I should like to point out that those who present the most shortcomings in this respect are the representatives of the major language groups. Multilingualism is a feature most encountered in the less important language groups. If the attitude is: anyone who speaks a world language does not need to speak any other, then what we are doing is discriminating.

In my opinion the money spent on translating and interpreting in Europe is probably the best spent money

in the whole European Community. It is the only way of avoiding linguistic discrimination, frustration, hostility and hatred, which could certainly cause Europe to crack very quickly, notwithstanding any economic advantage the Community might offer. Europe has no use for a Council, a Commission and a Parliament that discriminate between European groups. Our European ministers are well aware of this. No one can impose one or two languages on the whole of Europe, without at the same time lighting the fuse that in a very short time would cause the whole of Europe to explode. We must prepare all Europeans to live in a larger community where all are respected, where many different languages are spoken, and where feelings of superiority with respect to other Europeans have no place.

But then a serious European language policy must be set up.

> Foreign Language teaching at present fails to meet the requirements it is appropriate for, in probably every country of the European Community. The constantly increasing bias towards and concentration on English is prejudicial to European unity, as most young people learn only of English-speaking society as a counterweight to that of their native language community, thus misunderstanding the diversity of Europe within these limited experiences. The objectives of foreign language teaching must be set in such a way that the material taught promotes mutual understanding and enables the student to experience the cultural unity and diversity of Europe. (Franz Josef Zapp, President of the Modern Language Association of the FRG in 1979).

Therefore, I would suggest the following principles for a language policy in and for Europe:

a. Language for *Educational Purposes* (LEP) must be the mother tongue of the young Europeans;

b. One Language for *Communicative Purposes* (LCP) for international communication, to choose from a group including German, English, French ... and why not Esperanto;

c. An initiation in many different European languages (LMU), Language for *Mutual Understanding*, of which the aim would be to provide insight into the diversity of the component parts of European culture, fostering mutual understanding and more sympathy for speakers of other languages.

This proposal might create the impression that I am trying to conjure up the old image of "le gentilhomme". The impression is correct. The concept of "cultural initiation" should, however, be seen in a much broader context than mere introduction to the history of the people and its literature. It is the present that is important, not how speakers of Dutch thought in the sixteenth century, but how they think and react to-day. To illustrate this concept let me quote a statement which I found in a newspaper article in the *Gazet van Antwerpen*. The statement was made by Stanislav Prendota, Professor of Dutch in Wroclav, Poland:

> Newspapers and magazines are what my students really like. The visit of our Polish Pope in the Netherlands for instance was followed very closely. One thing astonished and shocked the students: the abusive tone of the criticism, which appeared even in the advertisements in the newspapers. They thought the Netherlands was tolerant. Again you see that learning a language is also a way of understanding a different mentality.

In this paper I first tried to dream up answers to a number of fundamental questions: why do people learn foreign languages, why should people learn LWTL? Next, I

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presented a number of elements in connection with the Dutch language: the linguistic position of the language, the geographical spread, and the policy of standardization and international planning. I tried to keep this part of my exposé free of passion and emotion. Finally, I put forward a suggestion to shed a simplified light on FLT in Europe and to contribute to European awareness of unity in diversity. But above all, I would like to stress that FLT must give up this servile aspect which it assumed 25 years ago: the myth of the language as a tool and having only communicative competence. The way in which modern languages have been degraded to the status of mere tools opens up a sinister perspective in which languages, stripped of true human life, would lead an existence of vampires and zombies. Languages are not only instruments of communication. They reflect the most intimate essence of a human being. This is the reason why FLT - but only when placed in a cultural context - can lead us to a better understanding, broaden the mind and help fight chauvinism.

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HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE POSITION OF IRISH

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1. The definition of the status of a language on a major/minor scale is as difficult and elusive as the distinction between language and dialect. More than twenty years ago, Charles A. Ferguson (1966) attempted to establish algebraic formulae in which the socio-linguistic profile of States might be succinctly presented. His formula for Spain, for example, was:

5L = 2Lmaj(So,Sg) + 1Lmin(Vg) + 2Lspec(Crs,Ss)

Of five languages present in the State, two are major languages, i.e. Castilian and Catalan; Castilian has a standardized form and is the language of officialdom (thus So); Catalan also has a standardized form, but is used primarily for communication within a particular speech community or group (thus Sg). There is one minor language, i.e. Basque, deemed to be a non-standardized vernacular of a particular speech community or group (thus Vg). There are two special status languages: Latin, a classical standard widely used for religious purposes and widely studied in schools (thus Crs); and French which, in its standardized form, is widely studied in schools (thus Ss). The status of Latin has, I presume, much changed since Ferguson wrote and, no doubt, other assumptions in his account might be queried. However, since the object is to demonstrate the nature of his proposed formulae, questions of detail need not detain us.

The corresponding formula for the Republic of Ireland would at present, I think, be as follows:

2L = 2Lmaj(Soweris, So[w]e[r]s)

There are, by Ferguson's criteria, two major languages: English by virtue of the number of its speakers, and

Irish by virtue of its being an official language of the State. English has, of course, a standardized form; is used for official purposes, in wider communication, in education (textbooks etc.), in religion, in international communication, and is universally a school subject (thus Soweris). Irish also has a standardized form, more or less; has official status; may be used for wider communication within the State; is used in education (textbooks etc.), in religion, and is widely studied at school (thus So[w]e[r]s). The only function, according to this formula, in which Irish is clearly distinguishable from English is international communication. One must emphasize that the attempt here is to state the relationship of Irish and English within the sociolinguistic profile of the Republic of Ireland. The object is not some more general commensuration of Irish and English. All the same, a formula which so minimally differentiates between the status of Irish and the status of English might be regarded as suffering from a certain inadequacy. That inadequacy lies in the criteria used by Ferguson in defining major status, since they equate a measure based on numbers of speakers with a measure based on official recognition. While both obviously are important, it is questionable whether they are interchangeable. By the same token, in the EEC both Catalan and Irish are accepted as properly coming within the purview of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages; Catalan, with its 5,000,000+ speakers (some say 11,000,000), on the basis of its lack of full official status; Irish, because of its small number of habitual speakers. Here, too, it is not clear that so indiscriminate a collocation is helpful.

2. Yet, it is perhaps not surprising that the contemporary status of Irish should be so difficult of summary definition because, seen in the longer

historical perspective, it must undoubtedly be regarded as a major language, not a minor one. Unlike, on the one hand, Basque which since Roman times has been confined more or less to its present territory (Stephens 1976), or, on the other hand, Faroese, or Friuli, or Sardinian, which have evolved distinctively only in the relatively small areas which they now occupy, Irish was once a widely used language. At the beginning of the historical period, speakers of this branch of Celtic, which had evolved distinctively in prehistoric Ireland, were the confident bearers of an expanding christianized and literate culture. In the 5th and 6th centuries they were a dominant ethnic element in Wales and were extending across the Severn into Devon and as far as the English Channel. More importantly, they were establishing in Northern Britain a vigorous community which, between the 6th century and the 11th, gained supremacy over other ethnic groups in the region and established the predominantly Irish-speaking kingdom of Scotland, a kingdom whose boundaries have been defined by their efforts and which is named after them. By the mid 11th century, Irish was the primary language of Ireland and Scotland; both regions shared a common tradition of literacy and learning which was already of more than 500 years standing. Though the language area in Scotland began to contract from the end of the 11th century, and had receded to the Highlands and to Galloway in the South-west by the 14th century, the Irish-speaking areas of Ireland and Scotland continued to share a unified literary culture until the 17th.

The vigour of this Common Gaelic culture received its first weakening in the 11th and 12th centuries as a result of intervention by the Anglo-Normans in

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Scotland first, and later in Ireland. Anglo-Norman intervention led directly to the retreat of Gaelic culture in Scotland. In Ireland, though the Anglo-Norman impact was at first absorbed and a predominantly Irish-speaking Early Modern Ireland emerged, the Irish-speaking tradition was never again the language of a fully autonomous polity, either in Ireland or Scotland. Even so, its associated cultural tradition remained distinctive and viable until the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, completed in 1603, led to the destruction of native institutions and sundered the cultural cohesion which had existed between Ireland and Gaelic Scotland for a thousand years. It is from that period that the final decline of Irish to minority status must be traced:

a. almost immediately came the loss of the native aristocracy and of the institutions which they maintained;

b. there followed the gradual anglicization of the Irish-speaking middle classes, completed largely by the end of the 18th century;

c. finally, there was the recurring economic collapse which reduced the Irish-speaking masses by emigration and, indeed, by death from famine.

The result was, in the late 18th and throughout the 19th centuries, a very rapid abandonment of the language by the remaining poorer classes in rural areas. These classes were the remnants of a disintegrating society who saw no hope for the future in a continuation of their ancestral loyalties. The rapidity of the shift to English is demonstrated by Garret FitzGerald's analysis (1984) of census data, which since 1851 have included information on language. Projecting back from the census data of 1851-1881, Dr FitzGerald has shown that the percentage of children acquiring Irish as their

first language was, for example, in the barony of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, as follows:

1811-1821	100
1821-1831	74
1831-1841	59
1841-1851	25
1851-1861	7
1861-1871	3

We observe that the decline was well under way before the decade of the Great Famine (1841-1851) and, in this instance, the abandonment of Irish was particularly rapid. Six decades rather than five seem to have been the more usual period for the kind of language shift illustrated in the Kilmallock data. For example, in the barony of Pubblebrien, also in Co. Limerick, the pattern is as follows:

1791-1801	100
1801-1811	97
1811-1821	71
1821-1831	46
1831-1841	25
1841-1851	11
1851-1861	3

Between 1851 and 1891 the statistics of Irish speakers in the under ten age group was for Ireland as a whole as follows:

1851	166,839	12.66%
1861	96,568	8.44%
1871	60,783	5.28%
1881	58,269	5.33%
1891	30,785	3.47%

The size which the Irish-speaking community was to have in the 20th century, and its retreat to a scattering of separate areas around the western seaboard, were already determined in these figures. When the position

stabilized in the first decades of this century, what remained was the modern *Gaeltacht* area.

3. While the 19th century thus saw this rapid decline in the number of its speakers, the status of Irish was gradually being restored, and its significance as a venerable strand of the European linguistic and cultural tradition increasingly appreciated. Its position within the Indo-European family of languages was being determined by international linguistic scholarship; its manuscript records were being rescued by the great libraries of Ireland and Britain; its literature was becoming available in printed form. Towards the end of the 19th century, these developments partially merged with a growing language maintenance movement and, in 1893, the Gaelic League was founded by Douglas Hyde, Eoin Mac Néill, and Eugene O'Growney, all of whom, significantly, were scholars of Irish language and literature. The Gaelic League became a most effective force for the maintenance and promotion of the Irish language and it was primarily responsible for the definition and popularization of the ideal of Irish revival which became a central element in the political separatist movement which led to the establishment of the Irish Free State, later to become the Republic of Ireland. As a direct consequence of the League's ideology, Irish was designated "the national language" in the constitution of the new State, and competence in it became compulsory for admission to the Civil Service, Police, and Army; it was given a more secure place in the Primary School curriculum, and was universally introduced as a subject into Secondary Schools where, however, it had been widely taught since 1913 when it had been made compulsory for matriculation to the National University. In the

Constitution of 1937, which is still in force, the status of Irish is reaffirmed as "the national language" and "the first official language".

By 1922, though, the position of Irish had been greatly reduced; its speakers had represented little more than 13% of the total population in 1911. However the leaders of the successful separatist movement not only accepted the view that Irish was the ancestral language of the majority of the people and, thus, the most distinctive mark of their ethnicity, but perhaps more significantly, belonged predominantly to parts of rural Ireland which still during their youth had substantial numbers of Irish speakers. For them, the language was a tangible reality and it was natural for them, and for their generation, to accept that Irish was the national language whose well-being was properly the concern of the State. This view has in fact survived the rapid urbanization and fundamental social and political change which the Republic of Ireland in recent decades has undergone. It has, for example, been shown by Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984) that 97% of respondents to their survey favoured provision for teaching Irish in Primary Schools; 96% favoured provision for it in Secondary Schools; 82% felt they would like to use at least some Irish in their daily activities; 76% supported the use of Irish on television; 75% supported the use of Irish in Public Administration; 66% regarded Irish as essential to the maintenance of a distinctive cultural identity; and so on.

One should explain that competence in the language, or use of the language, is not confined to *Gaeltacht* areas. In the 1981 Census of Population, over one

million people, representing over 30% of the total population, were returned as being able to speak Irish. The actual competence possessed by many of this million can hardly be of a high order, and it is certain that the language is used by a very much smaller number, but Irish is spoken throughout the country and not just in the *Gaeltacht* areas.

4. In the 1920s, the State was concerned to establish fully in Education and to promote throughout the State system a language which was by then spoken only by a minority. Admittedly, as we have seen, it was a language which had had a much more elaborate past and possessed a long literary tradition. A very substantial record had survived in it. There were works of history, law, literature, religion, and science. There was, however, the practical problem that, not only was much of this record of a medieval character and culturally somewhat remote from the circumstances of the 20th century, but a great part of it was as yet unexamined. Indeed, a large portion of it has still not been edited. There was also the problem that the classical written norm was now being abandoned, because it was felt to be too remote from the contemporary spoken usage, and no substitute had as yet been devised. In this situation, many of the provisions made were understandably less than perfect, and there was much vacillation and inconsistency. Professor R.A. Breatnach (1956), in a controversial article, expresses the frustrations felt by many:

> ... there were only the rudiments of an *apparatus paedagogicus* available and there was only a meagre supply of reading matter in print

And terminology was, he felt, being provided for by:

> ... nameless committees with neither the

> necessary direction nor the systematic thoroughness and regard for the resources of Early Modern and dialectal Irish that one might have expected

The lexical resources were indeed being developed without adequate awareness of the riches in the literary tradition but there was, to complicate the matter, a purist tendency to prefer new formations derived from native roots to more obviously borrowed forms which were often long established in the written language, or were in everyday use in speech. Thus we now have *rúnaí* "secretary" where the classical written tradition had *seicreatáir*, though this form had probably not been rediscovered at the beginning of the century despite its appearance in a text published in 1893. Professor de Bhaldraithe (1959) has instanced common words which were fully assimilated in the spoken language but which there was some reluctance to accept, e.g. *custaiméir* "customer", *geansaí* "pull-over", *léas* "lease", the latter being also well attested in the literary record. For want of central guidance, there was also a lot of divergent "private enterprise in inventing technical terms" (Breatnach 1956); Professor de Bhaldraithe has, for example, traced eighteen expressions for "telescope".

Though perfection has not been attained, and we have certainly been backward compared with Central European scholars in dealing with similar problems, I believe that very substantial progress has been made:
1. A new written norm has been established on the basis of guidelines published in final form in 1958.
2. Good bilingual dictionaries have appeared: de Bhaldraithe's English-Irish dictionary in 1959, and Ó Dónaill's Irish-English dictionary in 1978; more recently, a well produced pocket dictionary giving pronunciations has been published.

3. The Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish language*, covering the earlier language, was completed in 1976, and the Academy's dictionary of the modern language is effectively in hand.
4. There is a better provision of textbooks and the constant supervision of bodies such as the Department of Education's Syllabus Committees, Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (the Linguistics Institute of Ireland) and Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge ensures against obsolescence. In regard to terminology, the Department of Education has established a special committee with permanent staff to maintain a co-ordinated provision.
5. The work of Bord na Gaeilge and of Raidió na Gaeltachta and Irish-medium programmes on television help to sustain the societal position of the language. In the wider European setting, we have the valuable support of the Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.
6. Of course, a continually changing environment gives rise to evernew problems in need of solution. The main task just now is perhaps to ensure that Irish is not downgraded, or entirely overlooked, as the State and public bodies generally move towards a full computerization of their administration and activities. Still, given the extent of the task in a small country with limited resources, we have done reasonably well; maintenance of the same rate of progress for the future would, I believe, be a respectable ambition.

5. The Irish language in the past has attracted the attention of scholars internationally because of its significance for Indo-European linguistics, or because of the uniqueness of its early literary record, or because of the wealth of folk-tradition which has been preserved in it. I am sure that it is also worthy of the attention of scholars who are interested in aspects

of language planning, or in the problems of pedagogy which confront small languages. For that reason particularly, it has been a great satisfaction for me to have been invited to talk about it today to this illustrious gathering of scholars.

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LESSER USED LANGUAGES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES - DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RECENT PAST AND NEW HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

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For the past two days you have been considering the position of the "less widely taught" languages of Europe. Forgive me for complicating matters by speaking about "lesser used" languages. "Lesser used" is the term chosen by my organisation to describe the languages which others might call "minority", "regional" or even "minoritised". Our choice of terminology may at first seem cumbersome, but at least it avoids the pejorative overtones associated with some of the other adjectives. Your list of less widely taught languages includes some major European languages such as Italian, Dutch and Greek - languages which are under severe pressure because of the ever-growing importance of a small number of major international languages, especially English. The languages of which I am going to speak are in an even more precarious position.

Let us for a moment look at the European Community. The European Community is, essentially, a community of nation states i.e. independent states considered by their governments to be nations, in the 19th century meaning of that term. State and nation are not however synonymous and in every member-state of the European Community, with the exception of Portugal, there exists at least one autochthonous national or ethnic community which differs from the majority in that state in so far as they possess their own language and their own particular identity.

The European Community recognises nine official working languages - French, English, German, Italian, Dutch, Danish, Greek, Spanish and Portuguese. Irish is a "treaty language". That is to say the text of the treaties in Irish carries equal authority with the same text in the nine working languages. Irish is also an official working language of the European Court of Justice.

It is interesting to note that in our Community of 320.4 million citizens, all languages - even French and English - are in a minority position. There are up to 40 million citizens in the European Community whose mother tongue is a language other than the main official language of the member-state in which they live. In reality, this means that there exists a large number of people within the Community who do not enjoy the same linguistic status as do majority language speakers in their state.

The communities who use these less widely spoken languages can be categorised as follows:

1. Small independent nation states whose languages are not widely used by European standards and which are not official, working languages of the European Community, e.g. the Irish and the Letzeburgers.

2. Small nations without their own state (e.g. the Welsh, the Bretons and the West Frisians) who reside in one or other member-state.

3. Peoples such as those in (2) who reside in more than one member-state (e.g. the Catalans, the Occitans who can be found in France, Spain and Italy).

4. Trans-frontier minorities i.e. communities within one country who speak the majority language of another, be that country a member-state of the EC or not, e.g. the Danish-speakers of South Schleswig, the Slovenes of Trieste, the Francophones of the Vallée d'Aoste.

It is evident that these communities of lesser used languages are not without their problems. Indeed one might well ask whether they can possibly have a future in the modern world. There is, however, strong evidence to suggest that they do indeed have a future, and a most viable one, once certain basic facts and rights are acknowledged.

These languages are an integral part of the cultural heritage of Europe. They include some of the oldest languages of Europe with a rich literature and folk tradition. If they have been ignored in the past by the institutions of the European Community, this is no longer the case. In 1979, John Hume, MEP (Socialist, Northern Ireland), put forward in the European Parliament a motion demanding certain basic rights for speakers of such languages as well as supportive measures from Community institutions. In the following year, four other separate motions were tabled, all centering on the same area of concern. These motions were discussed in detail at Parliamentary Committee level, and as a result, Gaetano Arfé (an Italian member of the Committee) was requested to draw up a document encompassing the points made in the various motions tabled. Signor Arfé performed this function so efficiently that the outcome was the adoption by the European Parliament of the Document now known as the *Arfé Report* on the 16th October 1981. The *Arfé Report* can truthfully

be described as being the Magna Carta of European autochthonous minorities.

In May 1982 a colloquy was convened in Brussels, under the aegis of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, to consider how best the provisions of the Arfé resolution might be implemented. The colloquy was attended by MEPs, senior officials of the EC Commission, sociolinguists and representatives of most of the minority language communities. One of the things that came out of the colloquy was that those representing minorities felt that there was a need to set up an association which could speak and act on their behalf at EC level. Thus, the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages came into being, I being its first President and subsequently its Secretary General. (I was followed by two Catalan Presidents: Joan Dorandeu from the French side of the frontier and Aureli Argemi i Roca from Barcelona). Jack Macarthur, a Gaelic-speaker from Scotland, was elected in March of this year. Our general aim is defined as follows: "to preserve and promote the lesser used autochthonous languages of the member-states of the European Communities, together with their associated cultures".

A constitution was adopted in January 1983 following meetings of the provisional Council in Brussels and Dublin. The Bureau functioned on a purely voluntary basis in its first year, depending on *Bord na Gaeilge*, the state board for promoting Irish, to provide minimal secretarial services.

In 1983 the EC, for the first time ever, included in its budget a provision of 100,000 ECU to promote minority languages and cultures. The Commission agreed to spend some of this money on approved projects, ad-

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ministered by the Bureau. The following year, the Irish government approved a small grant-in-aid to partially fund an office in Dublin. In the middle of 1984, the Bureau opened its one-room Dublin office.

The structure of the Bureau is that of a committee in each member-state with a Council, comprising representatives of those committees, at European Community level. Council meetings are usually held three times a year at different venues. The Bureau is primarily concerned with the pursuance of its general aim and in other respects it is independent of, and as such is not partisan in, matters of race, class, religion, politics or ideologies. The Bureau welcomes support from all political groupings, but shall not become aligned with any.

So far the Bureau has pursued three broad strategies:

1. To press for the bringing into being of legal and political structures which would promote lesser used language communities;
2. To engage in and promote work programmes which would be of practical assistance to those it is endeavouring to serve; and
3. To facilitate an exchange of information and experiences between the various lesser used language communities and thus help bring about a greater sense of collective awareness.

In March 1983 members of the European Parliament, with a particular interest in the problems of lesser used languages set up an Inter-Group Committee for Minority Languages. A similar committee came into being in the new Parliament and its meetings are attended by

MEPs from seven different political groupings. The chairmanship of the committee rotates - its current Chairman being T.J. Maher (Liberal and Democratic Group, Ireland). He was preceded by Giorgio Rossetti (Communist, Trieste), Beata Brookes (Conservative, North Wales), Alfeo Mizzau (European People's Party, Friuli) and John Hume (Socialist, Northern Ireland). The Committee has kept issues concerning lesser used languages consistently to the fore in the European Parliament. In October of last year the new Commissioner for Social Affairs, Senor Manuel Marin, addressed the committee and pledged his commitment to its work. The Bureau, of course, works in close liaison with this committee.

At present, other important developments are taking place in the European Parliament in that two reports (with corresponding resolutions) are being prepared on lesser used languages. One report, which is being prepared by a German EPP member, F.L.S.G. von Stauffenberg, approaches the issue from a legal/institutional aspect in that it responds to a motion tabled by Süd Tirolian EPP member, Joachim Dalsass, who called for a European Law on ethnic groups - a law which would enshrine the principle that every ethnic group has the right to make restricted use of its own language. The other report is being prepared by Willy Kuijper, MEP (Volkunie, Flanders) in response to a motion tabled by Giorgio Rossetti, MEP (Communist, Trieste). This report follows a more linguistic/cultural approach and is being regarded by many observers as a kind of "second *Arfé Report*". It is due for discussion at a plenary session of the European Parliament later this year.

Suffice to say that the Bureau welcomes both initiatives and has been assisting both rapporteurs to the

best of its ability. A similar but totally separate initiative was taken by the Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (a body which comes under the aegis of the Council of Europe), when it decided to prepare a Charter of European Regional and Minority Languages. A public hearing was held in Strasbourg on 15th/16th May 1984. The hearing was attended by over 250 delegates and representatives of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages made important contributions to the debate. A small working group was subsequently set up by the Standing Conference and two members of the Bureau's Council, Sig. Ardizzone and Dr. Peeters, are now members of this working group. It is hoped that the Council of Europe will, in 1988, adopt a Convention for Regional and Minority Languages, which the governments of its member-states will then be invited to sign.

It is worth mentioning that another area in which interesting developments are taking place is the U.N. Commission for Human Rights, where work is being done on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. This U.N. Commission is notoriously slow in its work but the ultimate result of its endeavours in this field could be of enduring importance to minorities throughout the world.

Since its inception the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages has held the view that international bodies, and indeed the lesser used language communities themselves, will not take the Bureau seriously if it is not seen to engage in practical work programmes. A body which has a background of solid achievement is more likely to be heard than one which is primarily a talking shop. Since 1984 the Bureau, in conjunction with the Commission of the EC, has organised a programme of study

visits for lesser used language activists. This programme facilitates a cross-fertilization of ideas and enables people involved in domains such as education, the media and public administration to gain valuable insights into what is being done for lesser used languages in other parts of the EC. In the current year over sixty people are receiving bursaries and these, in seven different groups, are visiting Catalonia, Galicia, the Süd Tirol, the Vallée d'Aoste, Northern Ireland, Provence and the Republic of Ireland. The reports that the participants prepare on completing their visits form an interesting and useful source of information for the Bureau.

Arfé, in his report and resolution in the European Parliament, specifically identified three domains where lesser used languages should be accorded special recognition, i.e. education, public administration and the media. It was therefore only fitting that one of the Bureau's first projects should be directed at one of these areas - education. Pre-school movements have sprung up in lesser used language communities throughout Europe over the past 10-15 years and it seemed timely to carry out a study of these movements, to compare their structures, their different pedagogical approaches, their sources of income etc. Above all, it seemed appropriate to enable them to pool their experiences and see how they might engage in joint ventures in the future. Thus ensued a major study, followed by a conference in Leeuwarden in April 1985. A number of concrete proposals emanated from this conference, some of which are already being acted upon e.g. pilot projects in Friuli and among the Slovenes of the Province of Trieste. The pre-school report has been enlarged and updated by its author, Helen Ó Murchú, and will be pub-

lished by the Bureau in a few months' time. The pre-school study is being followed by a study of lesser used languages in the area of primary school education, this being carried out by the Fryske Akademy. It is known as the EMU Project.

Time constraints prevent me from describing in any detail the various educational projects which have received funding from the EC as a result of the Bureau's intervention. Suffice it to say that they include the production of educational computer software in Scottish Gaelic, the production of pedagogical materials for use in schools by the Greeks and Albanians of Calabria, similar materials for the tiny Walser Germanophone community in the Vallée d'Aoste and for the Occitans in both France and Italy, a conference on teaching lesser used languages to adult learners using the communicative approach (Dublin, March 1985), a European conference on children's publishing in lesser used languages (Stornoway, May 1987), the publication of an Irish-Breton dictionary and the preparation of bilingual videos for children, which can be dubbed in any major/minor language combination.

A conference of young lesser used language activists was organised by the Bureau in Brittany to mark International Youth Year. With characteristic enthusiasm, the young delegates identified two areas where joint action was possible. The first idea, an exchange programme for young lesser used language activists, is being undertaken by AFRI, a Friulan youth exchange association, while their Slovene neighbours from Trieste are proposing a gathering entitled "Our Cultural Challenge - Today and Tomorrow". This is envisaged as a hosting of young Europeans, who speak minority and regional

languages, to discuss the adaptation and development of their autochthonous cultures to meet the demands of young people today and tomorrow. It is scheduled to be held in Trieste in the summer of 1988.

The Bureau publishes three editions of a newsletter each year, *Contact-Bulletin*. This appears in French, English and Italian and is one of the Bureau's main instruments for promoting an exchange of information and views among speakers of lesser used languages.

Member-state committees of the Bureau are functioning in France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland and Germany. Initial contacts have been established with some of the minorities in Greece and it is hoped that a Greek committee will be established during 1987 or 1988.

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing the Bureau is that of convincing the minorities of the importance of working together. Centuries of suppression and discrimination have taken their toll. All too often, proponents of lesser used languages vent their anger and frustration, not on their real opponents, but on those who should be their allies, e.g. members of rival associations working for the same minority, members of another minority group who seem to be getting preferential treatment from the member-state government or from Brussels. The Bureau claims no panacea for these ills. It continually preaches and practises a policy of co-operation and unity. Co-operation, however, is not something that can be wished into existence; it is a skill that has to be learned with much patience and understanding.

The European Community's small budget line for minority and regional languages increased over the

years since its modest beginning at 100,000 ECU in 1983. In 1986 it amounted to 680,000 ECU and in 1987 there is a provision for 714,000 ECU. Of course, only a proportion of this money is spent by the Commission *through* the Bureau. The EC Commission pays subventions only in respect of specific projects. Such subventions have to be spent directly on the projects themselves and cannot be regarded as being disposable income. The main source of finance to cover establishment costs comes from grants-in-aid made available by the Irish and Luxembourg governments.

The challenges and the work-load facing the Bureau are formidable. Members of the Council and the member-state committees can engage in the Bureau's work only on a voluntary part-time basis. Indeed many of them have heavy organisational commitments in their own lesser used language communities. This means in effect that practically all of the day-to-day work devolves on the Bureau's staff of three persons. Lack of resources prohibits the recruitment of additional personnel.

It has been estimated that there are up to 40 million citizens of the European Community who speak lesser used languages. The idea of linguistic and cultural conformity has been effectively rejected by the Community. The vision of Europe now being sought is one of unity in diversity. The development of regionalism could contribute much to realising this dream. The minorities have a great deal to contribute to this kind of Europe. The purpose of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages is to ensure that they will be able to make this contribution. The challenge is great, but surely it is worthwhile.

STATE AND NON-STATE SUPPORTED LESS WIDELY TAUGHT LANGUAGES: STATUTES BEAT NUMBERS

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The Helsinki Final Act has rightly included the promotion of less widely taught *and* less widely used languages as a means of understanding and cooperation between the peoples of Europe. This commitment by 35 states is, however, far more complicated than it may seem. Indeed the problem tackled here is not only a matter of inter-state relations but has also for the great majority of the signatory states an "internal" dimension. In these 35 states more than 50 languages are used, all of them widely varying in size, status and legal recognition. It is our aim in this paper to relate the concepts of "lesser used" and "less widely taught" to the legal position of the languages concerned.

1. *Europe's Language Families*

The 50 or so European languages can be grouped in some 6 major families, the three most important ones being

The Germanic Languages : Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Faroese, Danish, English, Dutch, Frisian, German.

The Romance Languages: French, Rumanian, Italian, Sardinian, Friulian, Ladin, Romansch, Portuguese, Catalan, Castilian.

The Slavic Languages: Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croat, Slovene, Sorbian, Bulgaro-Macedonian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Russian.

Following those main families, we further must

acknowledge:
The Celtic Group : Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh, Manx, Breton, Cornish.
The Ugric Group : Sami, Fimo-Estonian, Hungarian.
The Caucasian Group : Armenian, Georgian, Circassian.

Finally some independent languages : Lithuanian, Lettish, Basque, Greek, Maltese, Turkish, Kurdish, Albanian, Inuktitut.

Although this may seem to be a great diversity, one must think of the 800 or so languages spoken in a country like India alone and also put those 50 European languages into the world perspective of some 3000 languages (Décsy 1986).

2. *Speaking of Numbers*

As previously stated all these languages vary widely in number of speakers. Without forgetting that certain European languages have also a worldwide dimension, we will take into consideration for this paper only their European distribution.

A tentative classification of the European languages according to the number of speakers would give us the following table:

Russian (in Europe)	± 100 million
German	92m.
Italian	63m.
English	60m.
French	55m.
Turkish	50m.

Ukrainian	42m.
Polish	40m.
Castilian	35m.
Rumanian (incl. Moldavian)	22m.
Dutch	20m.
Serbo-Croat	18m.
Hungarian	14m.
Portuguese (incl. Galician)	13m.
Czech	12m.
Greek	11m.
Bulgarian	11m.

All other languages have less than 10 million speakers. One can immediately see that there is no automatic correlation between the number of speakers of a language and its international prestige.

3. *Language and State Recognition*

Just half of Europe's languages are official in one or more states. Since world society is fundamentally and almost exclusively organized along the model of the sovereign state, this means that those languages have some kind of "diplomatic" status. The importance of the state would then influence the standing of that language.

On the other hand a number of languages are official in more than one state, so that one can expect a cumulative effect thereof. A classification according to this criterion would give the following list:

German: FRG., GDR., Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Liechtenstein

French: France, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Monaco

Italian: Italy, Switzerland, San Marino, Vatican
English: UK, Republic of Ireland, Malta
Dutch: Netherlands, Belgium
Greek: Greece, Cyprus
Swedish: Sweden, Finland
Turkish: Turkey, Cyprus

Moreover some languages have also an official status in a part of a state, be it an autonomous region, canton, *Land* etc., or are spoken in an area without formal recognition:

German: Denmark, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, USSR, France
French: Italy
Italian: Yugoslavia
Greek: Albania, Turkey, Italy
Hungarian: Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania
Rumanian: Albania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece
Albanian: Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece

In this respect it is quite obvious that the German language precedes all others in official recognition. It is official language of 7 independent states, and is recognised in 8 other states. Since we have also established that it is the second most widely spoken language in Europe, one could conclude from this factual evidence that German is Europe's most important language and consequently the most widely taught.

4. *International Status*

Some languages have in recent times got a supplementary sign of respectability or status. They are official or working languages of international organis-

ations. In that perspective the following table can be made for European languages used in at least one such organisation:

	UNO	Council of Europe	OECD	EEC
German		(X)		X
Russian	X			
English	X	X	X	X
French	X	X	X	X
Italian		(X)		X
Castilian	X	(X)		X
Dutch				X
Portuguese				X
Greek				X
() = limited purpose only				

Here one immediately sees the outstanding position of English and French and the very weak position of German in respect of our previous considerations.

5. *Second Language Status*

The ever increasing internationalisation of our society, the growing mobility of citizens and the closer cooperation between European states have as an effect that the future of a language community is no longer only evaluated in terms of the number of native speakers but equally in terms of its use as a second language.

In Europe of the ±15 major languages, only three are widely taught at secondary school level in almost all countries: French, English and German. This is done, however, in variable degrees. Russian is widely taught in only one half of Europe, Italian and Spanish in some limited areas around

the nucleus state.

If we accept that at least all European languages of more than 10 million speakers have sufficient communicative functionality for second language use, a first step towards a better balance in language teaching would consist in promoting German and Russian so as to bring them up to the level of English and French, to give more encouragement to Spanish and Italian, and to introduce opportunities for e.g. Dutch, Rumanian, Turkish, Polish and Portuguese.

6. *Languages without State Support*

Up to now we have only dealt with one group of languages as described in paragraph 3, the so-called state languages. This for the simple reason that of the non-state languages none reaches the 10 million level. Of all those languages only two have a sufficient number of speakers, are spoken in more than two states and could appeal to a larger communicative function. These are the Catalan and Kurdish languages.

Kurdish	Turkey, USSR*, Syria, Iraq, Iran
Catalan	Spain*, Andorra*, France, Italy
* recognised and taught	

In view of the particular location and political situation of Kurdistan, we will not take Kurdish into account in this paper. It is, moreover, questionable if Kurdish can be regarded as a European language. Catalan thus seems to be the only non-state language appropriate for inclusion in a European language policy.

A fundamental aspect of the situation of almost all non-state languages is their lack of standardisation and their struggle to be recognised as first languages of their respective populations. This, of course, impedes a forceful policy for international recognition or second language teaching. A lot of these languages have to be attended to continuously merely to survive. Many of them of course have small or even very small numbers of speakers. In this category we still have to distinguish those languages which have some kind of recognition on an infra-state level, e.g. Faroese, Inuktitut, Welsh, Euskara, Frisian, Slovene, Sorbian on the one hand and those which are merely acknowledged if not repressed, e.g. Sami, Scots Gaelic, Manx, Cornish, Breton, Sardinian, Friulian, Ladin, Occitan, Aromun. One notices immediately the very weak position of the Celtic group, which has no fewer than 5 of 6 languages in the non-state supported category.

7. *Less Widely Used Versus Less Widely Taught*
As previously pointed out the Helsinki Act includes both terms. If some European languages are less used than others, this is evidently related to the number of mother tongue speakers. Most of these languages are consequently also less widely taught, whilst they are rarely taught at all outside the nucleus country. Nevertheless, they have the potential of expanding their use through a planned government policy.

The non-state supported languages, as already indicated, all belong to the less used group, with the possible exception of Catalan, and do not dis-

pose of the instruments to initiate an external language policy. These languages thus suffer from a double discrimination.

The limited use of these languages for a considerable number of years has, moreover, put some of them in a state of lexical impoverishment, which in turn affects their functionality and increases their handicap (cf. Peeters 1987a and b). A non-state supported language must first ensure that it is sufficiently taught to its own native speakers (or potential native speakers in the case of a severely alienated group) and only after this has been established can one think of the wider use of that language as a L2 for others.

8. *Some Concluding Remarks*

A European policy aiming at a better balanced situation in the use and teaching of languages should at least take account of the following two principles:

1. The inalienable right of every citizen to speak, use, learn and teach his own language. (L1 principle)
2. The right to a free and motivated choice of a second and further languages. (L2 principle)

The first principle can, in our opinion, best be attained through statutory (constitutional, legal) recognition of each language in its own territory. The second principle can only be pursued through an integrated policy programme at national and European level. E.g. in multilingual states one could expect citizens to learn the other language(s) of their state; in border-regions give priority to the

neighbouring language; in the Germanic area (Northern Europe) foster Romance and Slavic languages, whilst in the Romance area (Southern Europe) the Germanic and Slavic languages and in the Slavic area (Eastern Europe) either a Romance or a Germanic language, maybe promoting the language of the most important trading partner or of the greatest tourist movements.

Combining these two principles shows us that if all "lesser used languages" are also less widely taught, all less widely taught languages do not necessarily fall into the "lesser used" category. So we come to the title of this contribution: statutes beat numbers. Before a lesser used language can be promoted so that it is more *widely* taught, it must first attain official status.

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LANGUAGE GROUPS AMONG THE GYPSIES IN HUNGARY AND SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR ORAL CULTURE

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In the present paper the following topics will be briefly discussed: Firstly, general data concerning the Gypsy population in Hungary and its linguistic situation are presented. Secondly, some of the first results of an ongoing research project dealing with the linguistic socialization of Gypsy children in traditional communities will be discussed, including some educational implications. Finally, some recent practical developments in the linguistic and cultural policies concerning Gypsies are briefly surveyed.

i) *Gypsies in Hungary and their linguistic situation*

The latest sociological survey of Gypsies in Hungary, carried out in 1970, put the number of the country's Gypsy inhabitants at 320 thousand (Kemény, 1974). According to some recent estimates their number must presently be somewhere between 350 and 400 thousand, that is, nearly 4 per cent of the population in Hungary belong to this ethnic group.

According to linguists' estimates, roughly one third of Gypsies in Hungary maintained their original mother tongue, Romāni, a language of Indian origin: that is, Romāni is the mother tongue of more than one hundred thousand people in this country.[1] Thus, Romāni-Hungarian bilinguals represent one of the greatest, if not the greatest, bilingual group among the different ethnic minorities in Hungary.

As to the other linguistic groups within the Gypsy population in Hungary, an additional 8 per cent - about

30 thousand people, the so called Boyash Gypsies - speak certain dialects of the Rumanian language as mother tongue. This is the consequence of a language shift which occurred in the Rumanian area. The remaining group of Gypsies, about half of the Gypsy population living in this country, is at present linguistically assimilated to the Hungarian population.

The linguistic group we are mainly concerned with, that of the Romāni-speaking Gypsies, is itself split up into different dialect groups. The overwhelming majority of Romāni-speaking Gypsies belong to the Vlach dialect group. Speakers of this dialect immigrated into Hungary from Moldavia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Subdialectal groups within this dialect, e.g. Māšāri, Drizāri, Colāri and the most widespread and most prestigious, Lovāri, can be traced back to former tribal and/or occupational units. (There are only minor linguistic differences among these subdialects). The rest of the Romāni-speaking population belongs to three unevenly represented dialects, Gurvāri, Romungro and Sinto.

The essential grammatical features and a great part of the lexicon are common in each of the Romāni dialects spoken in Hungary. Dialectal differences are limited to certain phonemic-phonetic traits and especially to the stock of loanwords, the latter depending on the immigration history (that is to say, on its period and former contacts with other peoples). Accordingly, the Vlach dialect is marked by a great amount of loanwords from Rumanian, while for example, the Romungro dialect is characterized by a significant lexical stock of older Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian loans, Sinto by strong German influence in its lexicon,

etc.

Linguistic contacts among at least some of these dialectal groups are rather widespread: diglossic use of two dialects (e.g. the use of Vlach, especially its most prestigious variant, Lovári, by speakers of Gurvári when performing particular genres of folklore (cf. Vekerdi, 1977) can be found, just as the trend to shift from one dialect to another (e.g. in certain communities, the gradual penetration of Vlach dialect features into the much less prestigious Gurvári has recently been observed).

As to their present social situation, in the last several decades the majority of Gypsies have had to give up their original occupations, e.g. making adobes, horse-dealing, smithery, working as wandering merchants, or have preserved them as a complementary job, and at present work as unskilled workers in industry or as occasional day-workers in agriculture.

As to the type of their bilingualism, it belongs to the category labelled "bilingualism with diglossia" (Fishman, 1967). That is, the use of the two langoages is functionally separated: Romāni (or in the case of Boyash Gypsies, Rumanian) is used for the purposes of intra-group, informal communication, while Hungarian is the language used for public purposes and for communicating with the members of the other linguistic community. (Intra-group use of Hungarian also frequently occurs when topics belonging to official, institutional domains - school, work, public authorities - are discussed).

As to their political status, Gypsies in Hungary

so far are not considered as a nationality, but as a separate ethnic group, having their own cultural values. Their acceptance as an ethnic group itself is a recent, positive development in Hungarian political life: formerly, the so-called "Gypsy question" was considered to be primarily a social problem, the cultural and linguistic sides having been completely neglected.

The research I shall speak about, just like some other research projects undertaken in different branches of the social sciences, has been made possible owing to this change in cultural policy, - to the insufficient but growing recognition of the importance of cultural and linguistic factors in social conflicts, difficulties of adaptation, under-achievement and failure in education experienced even today by a great part, if not the majority, of the Gypsy population in Hungary.

ii) *Research on linguistic socialization in traditional Gypsy communities: Some of the first results*

In coping with educational problems, one of the greatest sources of difficulties is that we hardly know anything about what happens to Gypsy children until they get to institutions - kindergartens, schools: every aspect of family socialization lacks reliable information and specialized knowledge. Earlier educational research, relying mostly on guesswork and partly on casual observations, characterized the education and family socialization of children in traditional Gypsy communities as a negative process from all possible points of view: all the children's failures at school were attributed to their supposed severe educational and linguistic deprivation (e.g. Várnagy and Vekerdi, 1979; Tomai, 1979). The lack of adequate linguistic input and conversation with the child is particularly stressed in these studies.

The present study is primarily concerned with this latter, controversial aspect of Gypsy children's family education: the functions, features, and peculiarities of adult-child linguistic interaction, and children's linguistic socialization in traditional Gypsy communities. The research, relying to a great extent on international work in this field, was directed at the following questions: What are the main characteristics of child-directed speech in traditional Gypsy communities? What kinds of language use are Gypsy children socialized for? How much and in what way do caretakers stimulate the child to speak? Do the ethnographic traditions of the given community influence child-directed speech? What are the expectations as to the child's linguistic development, and how does the child develop his/her linguistic competence?

A further part of the present investigation was concerned with certain aspects of the communication within Gypsy children's communities. The research tried to explore what Gypsy children use their native language for (beyond the trivial communicational purposes of their everyday life). Do the equivalents of the oral genres of adult Gypsy folklore (tale, anecdote, joke, etc.) exist within children's communities, i.e. does a kind of autonomous Gypsy children's folklore exist? (We know as little about this last issue as about adult-child interaction in traditional Gypsy communities).

Data were collected from 13 settlements of the country. Only such bilingual Gypsy communities as had previously been proved to preserve some kind of ethnographic traditions were selected for research.

The data of our investigation shed light on a

situation radically contradicting the assumptions about the serious linguistic deprivation mentioned in the introduction: in our material we can detect the outlines of a peculiar, very rich, oral Gypsy culture, which, from the moment of his birth, surrounds the Gypsy child, and of which he is a participant from his first consciousness. Salient peculiarities of child-directed speech could be classed into two groups. Some of these peculiarities are to be found in other cultures as well. The presence of these phenomena, e.g. the simplification of the phonological form of the words - following universal rules -, the use of baby-talk lexicon, the great redundancy induced by the frequent repetition, the chanting, the expressive prosody of the speech directed to the child, all these clearly show that, similarly to members of other language communities, Gypsy speakers involuntarily modify their language use when talking to a child (cf. Snow-Ferguson, 1977).

The other group of phenomena explored in Gypsy child-directed speech is in our view closely related to the peculiarities of Gypsy folk culture, just as the characteristics of children's plays and narratives are. Such determining features of oral Gypsy traditions are, for example, the following:

Improvisational presentation: Researchers of ethnography and folk music (e.g. Nagy, 1978; Kovalcsik, 1985) share the opinion that pieces of folklore collected in Gypsy communities - folk-songs, tales - are usually of looser construction and of more improvised nature than the equivalent pieces of European folklore. That is to say, in the pieces of Gypsy folk literature, as opposed to the more bound and more impersonal nature of European folklore, the events that are well-known

to the whole community, or the personal emotions and life of the tale-teller, or the particular events of his life very frequently appear. Olga Nagy, a Transylvanian researcher of folk-tales, expressed the view that this type of tale-telling represents the most archaic phase of the development of tales, where tales are part of the everyday life of the given community, interwoven with the episodes of this life, and tale-telling is a natural, self-evident activity practised by every member of the community (cf. op. cit.)

Dialogical character: A further important feature of the pieces of Gypsy folklore is their strongly dialogical character, which is characteristic not only of the epic genres (folk-tale, ballad) but, unusually enough, of lyrical songs, of the genre of the so-called "slow song" ("lōki djīli", cf. Hajdú, 1962; Kovalcsik, 1985) as well. (In Hungarian folk poetry the conversational character is unique to the epic genres, cf. the entry "dialogue" of the *Encyclopaedia of Hungarian Ethnography* Vol. 4, 1981).

The data presented below illustrate the importance of these features in the fields investigated.

a) *Dialogue-improvisation in the language spoken to the child*

A well-known phenomenon for the researchers of child-directed speech, of the "input language", is dialogue-modelling. This means that the mother answers her own questions for the child who is in the preverbal stage or does not answer for some other reason. (e.g. Mother: *"Where is the ball? - Here is the ball!"*). The importance of this communicational strategy used in the preverbal stage or in the initial stage of learning to speak is that it provides the child with patterns of

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adequate behaviour in the question situation. The descriptions at hand about this phenomenon (and my investigations in non-Gypsy families) show that in the case of dialogue-modelling the question-answer pairs produced by the mother are very narrow both in content and in length: these kinds of one-person dialogues, like child-directed speech in general, borrow their topic from the events going on in the present or in the very near or immediate past or future, or, from events directly relevant for the child; and their length is usually not more than two, or some more, turns.

The equivalents of this involuntary language teaching strategy are instanced in the case of Gypsy speakers as well. In our investigation, however, we found quite an unusual, in our view, unique alternative to dialogue-modelling: long, colourful dialogues built up of numerous turns, improvized by the mother, whose topic is not a directly experienced event, but the future life of the child, his future tasks, activities, possible conflicts of his adult life, smaller or greater events of his future life, and all this very often in a very minute, tale-like or dramatic presentation. An example of this in the following dialogue-improvisation describing a scene of the fair, the main hero of which is the addressee, Déneshke, who is all of 6 months old at the time of the recording:

Jakab Mihályné (29)
Jakab Dávid (Dénesh) (6 months)
Gyöngyös, 1985
by Szegő Judit

Gelèm tār vārekāj,	We went somewhere on a long
dūr drom,	trip,

udjè, mũro šav?

O Dẽnẹšo trãdelah e khũrẽn;

Pãlàl sodè khũre sah phangle,

Dẽnẹš, pala vurdon?

Haj dik, clpisar(el): "Dãle,

andrè j akastimè e khurè, haj

tu či les sãẹna? haj sò keres?

Mànge trubul vì te trãdav, vì sãna

te lav pẽj gras?"

Hẹ?

didn't we, my son?

The Dénesh was driving the colts;

How many colts were driven

at the back of the cart, Dénesh?

And look, he is shouting: "Mother,

the colts are caught,

can't you watch them? What are you doing?

Am I bound to drive and to watch

the colts as well?"

Hm?

(Déneshke is babbling plaintively)

Mišt̀oj dè!

Mũro šàv žal tãr, udjè, mũro šav?

"Kãj žah, Dẽnẹš?"

"Ande bãrì fõrõ.

Ingràh e grahtẽn;"

"Sodè grasten ingreh, Dẽnẹš?"

"Dùj vadj trĩnen!"

"Haj dikhàv, te j àmna e ŕom,

žàs ando foro, te n àmna, či žãs;"

"Ha maj kor džas e kàsa

žàs tar mure dadèsã;

duj žẽnè, biknàsa, paruvãs,

kinàs cinè khũrẽn;"

"Haj sò kereh lenca, Dẽnẹš?"

"Haj me kanàv e cine khũren!

Maj žàv, astaràv andr àndo

All right, all right!

My son is leaving, isn't he, my son?

"Where are you going, Dénesh?"

"To the Great Fair.

We are driving the horses;"

"How many horses are you driving, Dénesh?"

"Two or three!"

"Then I'll see, if the Gypsies come

we'll go to the Fair, if they do not, won't;

"Then we'll go ...

go with my father;

two of us, we sell, swap,

buy small colts;"

"What will you do with them, Dénesh?"

"Well, I love small colts!

Then I will go and harness them to the

vurdòn, haj/kìdav oprè e bute	cart and pick up the plenty of
xurdè šavorèn, po vurdòn, me pale	small children and I'll
trădav pe les" - udje, mokam?	drive" - shan't I, my son?
Trădel muro barò šav e grahtèn!	My big son will drive the horses!
E khurèn, a me pale cipij pe tu:	The colts, and I will shout
"Dèněškę(m)! Le sàma, kam lena	"My Déneshke! Watch out, because the
t e grah po mùj, muřo šav!"	horses might betray you!"
"Hăj nà dara, mama, man čì lel ma,	"Don't worry, mother, they won't catch
me čì dărav katar e grast!"	me, I am not afraid of horses!"
Udjè, muro šav?	Are you, my son?
Hăj?	Hm?
Lindralò j lo, Dèněškę?	Is the Déneshke sleepy?

Very similar topics of dialogue-improvisations can be found on the same recording: Déneshke's tasks at home, breeding horses, his conflicts at school and in his future marriage; the problem of the heritage after the parents' death, etc.

b) *Gypsy children's play: "What is in the sky?" - the anvil-game*

The second text illustrating Romāni oral culture is taken from our collection of children's play. The game is as follows: The children participating in the game - 5-13 year-old girls in this case - sit on the floor in straddle position in such a way that they sit between the legs of the girls in the following row. A child chosen in advance stays on all fours; he is the anvil (Romāni: *kovanca*). In front of the row, facing each other, there are two older girls standing who raise the children one by one putting them on their all fours, and then one of the girls asks the opening question of the game: *Sèj po čhtì?* "What is in

the sky?" or *Sò sí po Sunto Dĕl?* "What is there about the Good Lord?" The child, in her raised position, improvizes a text about the Virgin Mary and the Good Lord (who always appears in the texts as the Virgin Mary's husband) and their children, telling it in a chanting, continual and loud voice. The text ends with the word *amen* and/or some kind of formula resembling a supplication or prayer, as e.g. *Âmen, Kristuš, ažutèn p amènde!* "Amen, Christ, help us!" or a longer alternative: *Jàj, Dĕvlakom, čumìdav tut, kĕr te šòha n avàh nasvāle, mindig-mindig jęgešš̄ęgęšo t avas!* "Oh, Good Lord, I kiss you, make it that we should never be ill, always-always be healthy!" Depending on the content and form of the improvized text the two older girls dip the child into "gold" or "silver" ("gold" and "silver" can be two spots chosen before, e.g. two corners of the room). The raised child is allowed to tell "ugly" texts as well. (It seems that by "ugly" texts they mean the enumeration of the organs and functions of sexual life and of material exchange and/or special Gypsy curses). In this case the two girls holding the child beat him/her against the anvil and depending on the degree of "ugliness" they dip the child into "urine" or "shit" (i.e. they put the child in a given spot in the room). For the uglier texts they put the child into "urine", for the less ugly ones they put him/her into "shit". All this must symbolize some kind of ritual punishment. The length of the recorded texts can vary from a few sentences to many pages. In most texts the same motifs recur (the children, the household tools and the animals glistening, the coach taking the children to school, the family going to the meadow to pick flowers, etc.). The 5 to 6 year-old children who also participate in the game imitate the chanting style by reciting unconnected motifs of the text. To the question of the collector, who asked what

this game is about, one of them answered: "We honour

this game is about, one of them answered: "We honour
God with it."

Let us see some examples that were appreciated by dipping the child into "gold":

Gyöngyös, 1985
by Szegő Judit

(All the texts were preceded by the question *Sòj po čĭrí?* "What is in the sky?" or *Sò sí po Sunčo Dĕl?* "What is there about the Good Lord?")

I.

Lakatos Csilla (Hajnal) 11

"Čerhàjẹ, Sunto Màrjẹ,	"Stars, Blessed Virgin,
phàbol lako khèr, řadjogil,	her house is glistening,
či dičol andaj sumnakàj,	it cannot be seen because of the gold,
anda sumnakàj kèrdjon	the gold turns
gurùmburi,	into doves,
hàj šošojẹ;	and rabbits;
Phàbol lako bùtòri, řadjogil,	Her furniture is shining and glistening,
kasavò k bùtòri nàj č eg řomnjẹ,	no other woman has such furniture,
čèg Sunto Marjà, sar o Sunto	only the Blessed Virgin, [such a woman]
Màrja.	as the Blessed Virgin.
Dèvlàm, Čumìdav tu,	My God, I kiss you,
ažutìn p amende,	help us,
šòha na ker t àmas oapte	make it that we never ...
te dèl ame Sùnto Màrjẹ bòldògo."	Let the Blessed Virgin make us happy."

II.

Jakab Mónika (Móni) 12

E Sunto Mărjà,	The Blessed Virgin,
le šavorę čillogìl̨,	her children are glistening,
čillogil vì vōj,	[and] she is also glistening,
čillogìl̨ lako khèr,	her house is glistening,
čillogil̨ lake gurumnę̀,	her cows are glistening,
čillogìl̨ lake šavorę̀,	her children are glistening,
žan lake šavor àndˌ iśkòla.	her children go to school,
kana žan lake šavor and iskòla,	[and] when her children go to school,
thovèl pa lènde,	she washes their clothes,
thovèl pa lènde.	washes their clothes.
Kana čillogìl̨ leng-lenge gădà,	When their clothes glisten,
vì vōj čillogij.	she also glistens.
Avèn khér lake šavorę̀,	Her children come home,
žàn lasa po řẽto,	they go to the meadow with her,
kìden lake luludję̃.	they pick flowers for her.
Lake šavorè nasvàjvon aba,	Her children got ill already,
ingrèl le ka òrvoš̃o;	she is taking them to the doctor;
čillògil vvōj,	she is also glistening,
sàko fę̀lę čillogil lake:	all kinds [of things] are glistening on her;
vì lako kher,	her house, too,
vì laki gurumni.	her cows, too.
Kana fejìl pehkę gurunję̀,	When she milks the cow,
vì lako thòd čillogil,	her milk also glistens,
Amen.	amen.

III.

Jakab Mónika (Móni) 12
(another occasion);
another child from the group

Sùnto Màrję, čillogìn lake gādà,	Blessed Virgin, her clothes are glistening
làko rom;	her husband;
Sàko fę̀lę čillogil;	All kinds [of her things] are glistening;
Mìndig-mìndig žàn ānde būtjì	*Always-always* they go to work,
dùj žēnè,	they two [the Blessed Virgin and her husband],
mìndig te ingrèn penge/te xàn	always to get some food for themselves.
Hàj avèn khērè,	And they go home,
žàn mìndig ando sùnto thàn,	always go to the sacred place[2],
engrèn vì peske šavoren.	and take their children, too.
//Ando zèleno rę̀to žàn peska	//They walk in the green meadow
romèsa,	with her husband,
šòn penge colo, haj sōvèn.	they put down a sheet, and they sleep.
Hàj / astàn pàlpāle / avilè,	And, after that, they came back,
khērè gele;	they went home;
Sò rakhle ando kher? Rakhlè:	What did they find in the house? They found
dùj, trìn ibòji.	two, three violets.
Haj phendàs o/ làko rom lake:	And her [the Virgin's] husband told her:
"Sòj gadala, mìri romnì?"	"What are these here, my wife?"

(Laughing; the children start talking loudly. After a while, out-talking the noise, another child continues:)

Fejìl le;	She milks them [the cows];
Kana thovèl, gada čillogĭl̥,	When she washes, the [washed] clothes glisten,
vì lake śavorę / vì voj.	her children and she also [glisten].
Sùnto Màrję!	Blessed Virgin!
Kana khèr avel làko ŕom,	When her husband comes home,
śùdel pa peste.	she gets herself
sõvèl lasa.	[and] sleeps with him.
Avèn khĕre leske śavorę,	Her children come home,
ãndr astarel ando hintõvo,	she harnesses the coach,
kàj phenèl pehke śavorę̀,	and says to her children,
gothè žal lenca.	that she goes there [to the meadow] with them.
Žàl po zèleno fẽto lenca lengi	She goes to the green meadow with them,
dẽjõri,	their mommy,
kìden penge luludjõrà.	they pick flowerets.
Kàna ba tẽle žàl o khãm,	When the sun sets,
pàlpãl avèn, khĕre, xan	they go home, eat,
haj ẽon - l ando b-/ pãto,	and then [the parents] put them to bed,
haj sõvèn tar.	and they fall asleep.
Destehãraj,	In the morning,
oprè vuštavèl le lèngi dẽj,	their mother wakes them up:
"Màre śavore, vuštèn opr, and	"Get up, children,
iśkòla trubul te žãn!"	you must go to school!"
Oprè vuštèn,gotòn pe,fulavèn pe,	They get up, get ready, comb their hair,
astàrel andre lèngo sòlga,	their butler harnesses
ingrèn le,	they take them,
čillǫgoše / hintõvèsa.	on a star-decked coach.
Àmen, Kristuś ažutl̥n p ɯnènde!	Amen, Christ help us!

Amen, Kristuś ažutl̥n p amènde! Amen, Christ help us!

These and other texts collected among Gypsy children indicate that children living in a traditional Gypsy community, acquire by school age the characteristic features of oral Gypsy culture: the improvisational presentation and even the use of formal style.

If this is so, the question arises: Why do children coming from a traditional Gypsy environment encounter serious difficulties, first of all linguistic ones, at school? Why do teachers get the impression of linguistic deprivation in these children? It would seem natural to assume that difficulties are due to the children's not being Hungarian native speakers. In my opinion, however, this fact alone cannot explain all the language problems arising in their education. For one thing, most of the children coming from a traditional Gypsy community, by the time of starting school, acquire Hungarian on some level. Secondly, as is well-known, children getting into another linguistic environment - provided that their socialization is basically not different from that of their pals - usually get over these difficulties in a few months. The deeper reason for the language problems in the classroom (which we could only note here) is in our view related to the culture of Gypsy communities, or more precisely, to the specific features of their language use that differ from that in the surrounding cultures. One of these differences is, for example, that the linguistic input these children are exposed to lacks written language or written literature, which is one of the major sources of both linguistic and other knowledge. In the traditional Gypsy community children's books are absent from the child's environment; even the typical situations or activities related to literacy (e.g. looking at

children's picture-books, naming objects or asking the names of these objects, activities, people represented in them, etc.) are absent from the everyday activity of Gypsy communities. This means, that in their native community, fostered by illiterate or functionally illiterate parents, these children lack the important linguistic resource that children living in other cultures exploit from the earliest age.

It is worth noting that the above interpretation of the origin of language problems in the classroom converges with recent results in the field: linguistic anthropologists examining language use and opportunities at school from an intercultural perspective have recently ascertained that the basic source of mass failure at school in the case of children coming from disadvantaged social groups or from ethnic groups without literacy must be due to the differences in their language use and to the absence of literacy socialization (cf. Heath, 1982, 1983; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). As they stress, in such cases, children could only be successful if there were a bridge between traditional speech events and those appropriate to literacy activities.

iii) *Linguistic and cultural policies concerning the Gypsies in Hungary*

The above-mentioned modification in the government's cultural and linguistic policy has opened up some modest possibilities in the education and cultural activity of this ethnic group.

As regards education, an experimental curriculum for first-grade Romăni-speaking children has been published in four booklets by the National Pedagogical Institute (I: *Sĭtyovas te ginavas* "We are learning how

to read"; II: *Amaro krujalipe* "Our environment"; III: *Ginav kathar o jekh zhikaj e desh!* "Count from one to ten!"; IV: *Gilya, poemi, paramichi* "Songs, poems, stories", Budapest, 1984). It is actually being tried out in several classes. Several other programmes aiming at the reduction of children's linguistic and educational difficulties have also been worked out: for example, in the Institute for Post-Graduate Training of Teachers in a Hungarian county (Bacs-Kiskun) an audio-visual programme of Romani has been prepared with the purpose of enabling teachers to communicate somewhat with their pupils in Romani and helping them to overcome their linguistic difficulties in the classroom where the medium of instruction is Hungarian.

Teaching Romāni at two universities (Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest and Janus Pannonius University in Pécs; at the latter, a Rumanian dialect spoken by Boyash Gypsies is also taught) will potentially promote the education of people able to advance language planning and mother tongue education for Gypsies.

As regards recently created frameworks of cultural activity, the Cultural Association of Gypsies in Hungary (Ungrikone Themeske Kulturicko Jekkethanipe) was established in 1986. Its proclaimed objective is to develop language and culture, to publicize it in the non-Gypsy environment, to help the maintenance of the better part of traditions and to promote social progress. The association publishes a newspaper entitled *Romano Nyevipe* ("Gypsy Journal") which appears every fortnight and, besides articles written in Hungarian, contains articles, interviews and literary works in Romāni, too.

One of the main problems of raising Romāni literacy in Hungary is related to the orthography used.

This is namely that, for various reasons, the leaders of the politicized language movement in Hungary have adopted an English-based spelling for the transcription of Romāni texts. However, their potential readers have all learned to read and write in Hungarian classes and in addition, the majority of them, owing to their low educational level, have rather poor skills in this field. As a consequence, they have enormous difficulties in reading texts transcribed in the above way.

Greater sensibility to readers' needs on the leaders' part would be an important prerequisite for any advance in the field of language planning and the development of Romāni literacy.

NOTES

[1]The survey of 1970 puts the proportion of Gypsies characterized by Romāni-Hungarian bilingualism at 21.2% of the entire Gypsy population. For methodological reasons, however, bilingual Gypsies in Hungary are probably underrepresented by these data based upon questionnaire accounts. That is to say, a linguistic survey of the Gypsy population is difficult to carry out, because relevant answers concerning intra-group language use are hard to obtain from bilingual Gypsy speakers. Gypsies, as my personal experience also confirms, very often deny their knowledge of Romāni, declaring themselves monolingual speakers of Hungarian, Hungarian having more prestige than the Romāni mother tongue. This language attitude is very similar to that reported by other authors in connection with diglossic language situations (cf. below) (Barker, 1949; Ferguson, 1959). Thus, it is very probable that the estimate of a specialist in Romāni linguistics, J. Vekerdi, according to whom the number of Gypsies speaking Romāni as mother tongue would be over one hundred thousand, comes somewhat closer to reality than the finding of the above-mentioned survey.

[2]To a place of pilgrimage.

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THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND THE ISSUE OF LESS WIDELY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

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In the world of today where national consciousness is developing alongside the increase in international relations and cooperation and the deepening of interaction and mutual influence of cultures and languages, the issues of the learning and teaching of less widely taught languages acquire special importance. As a rule these issues are related to the problems of the languages of national minorities, of doing away with illiteracy, of working out writing systems for languages which had none and of reviving forgotten and semi-forgotten languages.

However, in order to outline the contours of this issue for the particular case of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which is one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union, one has to answer the question: less widely taught languages from which point of view? Should it be the European community as a whole, the Ukrainian language itself may be considered a less widely taught language. If we view the problem from the internal standpoint of the Ukraine, the term "less widely taught languages" may be applied to a number of European languages which are, in fact, quite intensively used in parts of Europe other than the Ukraine, as well as to a number of non-European languages.

The issue of less widely taught languages in the Ukraine is directly connected with the ethno-linguistic situation in the Ukrainian SSR. Historically the so called national minorities appeared in the territory of the present-day Ukraine due to the migration processes

which were determined mainly by economic reasons and religious strife. This period covers several centuries - from the 10th to the 19th century A.D. Thus, for instance, Armenians appeared in the territory of what is now the Ukraine in the 10th to the 14th century and had become in fact assimilated by the 19th century. The 15th to the 17th century saw the influx of Russians, Poles, Rumanians, Moldavians, Jews. The 18th century attracted to the Ukraine Germans, Bulgars and Greeks and the 19th century Estonians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Byelorussians, Tartars, Gagauz[1].

According to the census of 1979[2], the population of the Ukraine constituted 49,609,000 (50,500,000 in 1983). Of this number 36,489,000 (73.6%) were Ukrainians, 10,472,000 (21.1%) were Russians. Thus, the representatives of these two nations constitute in the Ukraine 94.7% of the total population, and the national minorities, 5.3%. Of other ethnic groups the number of Jews amounted to 633,000 (1.3%), Byelorussians 406,000 (0.8%), Moldavians 294,000 (0.6%), Poles 258,000 (0.5%), Bulgars 238,000 (0.5%), Hungarians 164,000 (0.3%), Rumanians 122,000 (0.2%), Greeks 104,000 (0.2%). The Ukraine also hosts representatives of other nationalities and ethnic groups - Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Estonians, Armenians, Tartars, Karaims, Gagauz, Gypies whose numbers are not significant.

About 81% of the population recognize the language of their nationality as their mother tongue. Among Ukrainians this figure is 94%, among Russians, over 98%. The overwhelming majority of Jews, Armenians, Karaims, Estonians recognize Russian as their mother tongue. For over 83% of Poles the mother tongue is Ukrainian. Most Bulgars use Russian or Ukrainian alongside Bulgarian. Hungarians, Rumanians and Gagauz use mainly their ethnic languages.

Most of the nationalities living in the Ukraine (about 96%) belong linguistically to the Slavic group of the Indo-European family. 0.8% of the population speak languages of the Romance group, while 0.25% speak languages of independent groups of the Indo-European family. Other language families are represented in the Ukraine by Hungarians and Estonians (Ural family) and Tartars, Gagauz and Karaims (Altaic family). Their total number amounts to 0.7% of the population of the Ukraine.[3]

Language planning issues in the Ukraine are being solved on the basis of the principles of national policy and language policy elaborated by V. I. Lenin long before the October Revolution of 1917, which found their implementation in the decisions of the 10th Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of 1921 and in further practical activities of the Soviet State aimed at the development and consolidation of Soviet statehood in forms appropriate to the national and historical ways of life of the different nations and ethnic groups, inhabiting the Soviet country: development and consolidation of courts, administration, bodies of power and economy in the native languages: development of press, education, theatres and other cultural and educational bodies in ethnic languages[4].

The cornerstone of this extensive programme was the idea of rejecting an official language as such. Among a number of pressing problems the task of highest priority was to do away with illiteracy among the nations and ethnic groups possessing written languages and to work out a writing system for those having none. (It should be noted that of 130 languages existing in

the Soviet Union, only 20 were written and only four - Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian and Georgian - were in fact developed literary languages. During the two decades after the Revolution writing systems were developed for over 40 languages).

In the Ukrainian SSR education is based on the constitution of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR, the laws of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR on public education and the charter of public secondary schools which guarantee the right to education and choice of language of instruction. Because the Ukrainian population is multinational there exist schools with Ukrainian, Russian, Moldavian, Hungarian and Polish languages of instruction. According to the Ministry of Public Education of the Ukrainian SSR, of over 20,000 comprehensive schools in the Ukraine in 1985 there were over 15,200 schools (74.4%) with Ukrainian as the language of instruction and 4,445 (21.8%) with Russian. Moldavian is used as the language of instruction in 110 schools (0.5%), Hungarian, in 55 schools (0.3%), Polish, in two schools. Besides there also exist 539 so called mixed schools (2.64%) with two languages of instruction (Ukrainian-Russian, Ukrainian-Hungarian, Russian-Hungarian, Russian-Moldavian, Ukrainian-Moldavian, etc.)

It would be appropriate to mention here that foreign languages in the comprehensive schools of the Ukraine are taught in the following ratio: English - in over 9,600 schools, German - in over 9,000 schools, French - in 2,700 schools and Spanish - in 132 schools. In Kiev there is a school where Chinese is taught as a foreign language.

Courses in less widely taught languages are taught mainly in the universities. For instance, courses in

the languages of the neighbouring, mainly Slavic, countries are taught in Kiev University (Bulgarian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Czech) and a course in Hungarian is taught in the University of Uzhgorod.

The main Western European languages are taught in all universities of the Ukraine and in most teacher training institutes. During the last ten to fifteen years the studying and teaching of less widely taught languages of Europe and other regions of the world was launched in Kiev University. Some of them are less widely taught in the Ukraine. For example, besides French and Spanish, students may take an optional course in such Romance languages as Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian, Latin and receive additional qualifications in these languages. In order to widen their linguistic horizon they may also take special courses in Gallician, Catalan and Occitan.

Kiev University provides courses in the following Germanic languages: English and German as major languages, Gothic in the course on the history of Germanic languages, and Frisian as a special course. In the 1987-1988 academic year Dutch and Danish will be introduced as optional courses and later Swedish with a view to providing an additional qualification.

Moreover, since 1972 Kiev University has been providing courses in Arabic and Japanese (as second or optional languages) and it is planned to introduce Chinese. In the academic year 1987-1988 a special course in Basque and an optional course in Greek are to be initiated.

Kiev University is a place where research is also conducted on the functioning and change in less wide-

ly known and used varieties of European languages in different regions of the world and in different socio-cultural conditions (variants of the English and French languages in the developing countries, etc.).

This is a brief outline of the language policy in the Ukraine, paying particular attention to the system of education and the place and role of less widely taught languages.

Increasing the number of languages taught in schools and universities, including less widely taught ones - both of neighbouring and distant countries - will contribute to better understanding of the way of life and culture of these nations and thus to cooperation and friendship.

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NOTES

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POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF THE PROCESSES OF LINGUISTIC RECUPERATION: THE CASE OF CATALAN

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When two languages coincide within the same territory, either because in the given territory two groups, each speaking its own language, coexist, or because the members of one group use one language or the other depending on circumstances, or because there is any situation halfway between these mentioned above, the two languages present neither fulfil, in relation to the whole society, the same functions, nor have the same prestige, nor the same social strength. These differences and disequilibrium can be very varied, but if they are all positioned in the same direction, they allow us to qualify one of the languages as the strong language and the other as the weak one.

Some time ago, the word "diglossia" was successfully introduced to designate those situations of coexistence and inequality between two languages. In its common sense it is characterized by two facts:

- In a "diglossic" situation, the weak language is only used in the private field and in daily life, whereas the strong language, besides being able to be used in such fields, is also used in the most formal circumstances and whenever it is necessary to deal with political or cultural aspects. Also, the strong language is mainly, or exclusively, used for writing.
- In a "diglossic" situation the weak language is used mainly by the popular levels of population, while the strong language is preferred by the

higher levels and, generally, by those related to political power and cultural activity.

I would add another characteristic to these, which I understand is the most significant. In a "diglossic" situation those who speak the weak language find themselves compelled to know the strong one and convert themselves, therefore, into bilinguals, whereas those who speak in the first place the strong language do not feel this need or they feel it less. As a result, in communicating with those who speak in the first place the strong language, there is a tendency to speak the strong language.

It is true that the situations of languages in contact are so extraordinarily complex and varied that this general description cannot be enough to define them. Not only can we distinguish different grades of "diglossia", but also the disequilibrium between the languages can present very varied forms, sometimes surprising or paradoxical. Each linguistic situation can only be characterized by starting from a deep and vigorous description of its main features. But, anyway, the notion of "diglossia", is useful to remind us that in many cases of languages in contact, and considering the situation comprehensively, we can justifiably speak about a systematic disequilibrium favouring one of them.

Like all social phenomena, this disequilibrium is not static but dynamic. It is continuously influenced by forces which act in different directions. But this dynamism can be very stable, since, as we know, the linguistic habits of individuals and communities are very conservative and reproduce themselves easily, thus a "diglossic" situation can maintain itself for centuries. Anyway, it is obvious that if the forces which

have produced "diglossia" keep on acting, the weak language will progressively lose ground and at the limit, however slow the process might be, can reach the point of disappearing.

History, though, is neither linear nor uniform, nor is it predetermined. The forces that act upon languages have their own dynamism and it is possible that, in a certain moment, a weak language gets a new "push in" and starts a path of recuperation and, therefore, normalization. The path of normalization can be defined as the process inverse to that which leads to "diglossia" or, to be more precise, as the process whose aim is to invert "diglossia", converting the hitherto weak language into the strong language.

Reviewing what I have said about the characteristics of "diglossia", we could say that the process of normalization tries to:

1. Make the weak language known and used by the entire population, even by those who have the strong language as their mother tongue.
2. Make the hitherto weak language be used on all occasions and, therefore, also used on those traditionally reserved to the strong language.

Before continuing with this subject, note that the use of the word "normalize", to mean this recuperation of a language, is not a general one. Traditionally, the word "normalize" has meant the process of formalization and codification of a language's rules, for instance, what Pompeu Fabra did among us with Catalan. Catalan linguists introduced this new meaning of the word "normalize", to recover the "normal" use of a language. To cover the old use of the word, the word

"standardize" has been created, in the sense of "give rules". This Catalan innovation meets a certain and considerably important need found elsewhere, particularly among those who look after weak and minority languages.

Because of the existing relationship between recuperation processes and recessive processes, the expansion of one language often implies recession of another. Before starting with the subject of recuperation, I will briefly relate to this recession. And not to extend the comment excessively, among the great variety of known situations about languages in contact, I will limit myself to those which are more familiar, those which are found in Europe as a result of the constitution of the so called national states during the modern era.

Their common root starts from the disintegration of the Roman Empire, from the arrival of barbarians speaking different languages and from the splitting up of Latin during the Middle Ages. The new languages are consolidated and extended as the communities that speak them get political success. The Iberian Peninsula offers us an excellent example: after the Arabian invasion, the different languages derived from Latin spoken in the ranges of mountains in the north of the peninsula - Galician, Asturian, Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan - have a destiny directly related to the political successes of those who speak them and to their territorial extent. The political structures that appear are not, though, necessarily related to the language, and the Crown of Aragon is a good example of a common fact in the Middle Ages: political unities that do not coincide with linguistic limits.

This situation changes as the modern era advances and as national states are being constituted, based on an increasingly centralized administration that uses only one language which becomes the state's official language. Those languages different from that taken as the official one are abandoned to their fate. This expansion process of the state's official language becomes more acute in the nineteenth century when it is given an ideological foundation that starts from the French revolution and the nation's romantic ideology, and which considers the language as a demonstration of nationality and as a symbol of the nation's unity. State, nation, language and culture are in this way closely related terms.

Beside this history of the beginnings we must situate the history of the means used to assure the predominance of the national state language. In the first instance, as I have said, the language of the state is the language of the administration, so anyone who attempts to have relations with the political power has to speak the official language. Later in some countries like France, the state explicitly assumes the custody and defence of the official language, for instance creating the French Academy. The official protection and the spreading of printing cause the vast majority of book publishing to be in national languages.

The emergence of the linguistic nationalism ideology coincides with the spreading of compulsory education in Western Europe and school is put at the service of the official language's diffusion, thus bringing it in a unified way to the entire population, even to those who do not have it as a first language. Nowadays, this

role of linguistic diffusion and unification by the school is assumed, moreover, by communication mass media, especially by TV.

It is true that the model of the process of unification that I have just summarized, and of which the linguistic policy of the French state may be the best example, has not acted in the same way in all Europe. Germany and Italy, to give two significant examples, did not obtain their political unity until the nineteenth century. Until then, the linguistic convergence had been based, above all, on the prestige of some literary models and it was with much hardness that a policy of promotion of the "official" language arose in both countries. On the contrary, Switzerland very soon obtained a unified political structure but it was, and still is, a federal structure which totally respects, or at least very notably, the linguistic differences.

In spite of this and other variations, in the end every country's history has its own individual characteristics. It is still true that European history in modern times has been distinguished by the consolidation and diffusion of national state languages. As a result of the pressure systematically and continuously exercised in favour of such languages, non-national languages have progressively lost ground. All of them have seen themselves reduced to more or less severe diglossic situations, which in most cases deter their evolution and progress and condemn them to disintegration, converting them, in the case of the weakest languages, into dialectal variants of the official language.

Historic processes have not played, though, exclusively against non-state languages; many have re-

aisted more or less well and some have started recuperation processes and they even have obtained results which would have been unthinkable a century ago.

In principle it could be thought that the recuperation capability of a marginal language is a direct consequence of its resistance capability and, therefore, that the languages which have fared better are the ones which develop more easily, but one must realize that my contention and the reasons that explain it will hardly produce a recuperation. An isolated population, with traditional ways of living can maintain its own language for a long time and resist the surrounding linguistic pressure, but it will hardly initiate expansion. Mere survival then, is not enough; something more is necessary.

In the middle of the last century, and due to reasons which are not worth examining now, there was in all of Europe a great interest in the cultural past that led to the re-evaluation of cultures and traditions and also of languages that had been kept apart by the main line of "progress". The agents of such re-discovering were intellectuals in the wide sense and, in the first place, writers, or if you like, specifically poets. It is the movement that we call the "renaissance".

The revival of a minority language, even if it is only in the literary field, gets in conflict with the existing "diglossic" situation and awakes the nostalgia of using it, more than in the mere familiar and daily conversation, in all cultural fields. But to move forward in this direction its literary cultivation is not enough. Political intentionality becomes necessary. And to be more precise, we could say that two things are necessary. In the first place that those who

speak the language feel that in some way they are jointly sharing a common project, trying to assume responsibility and, therefore, hoping to have some grade of autonomy. And at the same time that those who speak the language or those who have given up speaking it consider the language as sign and symbol of their solidarity.

At the moment in which this is produced, what I have called before the romantic theory of nationality, used by national states to impose the official language on populations that speak another one, can revert against them. The states argue saying: if you are a member of the state you must speak the national language. Those who defend the language of minorities answer: if we speak a different language it means that we are a different nation and, therefore, we have the right to some degree of autonomy and self-government. Language is a guarantee of nationality, in the words of Prat de la Riba.

This consciousness has been very different for the various minority languages in Europe. It is known, for instance, that the Occitan language had a splendid literary renaissance, but this did not materialize in a political consciousness. The political project in turn, must connect with wider collective situations, even at international level, which can favour or make difficult the recuperation process. The disappearing of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire allowed the independence of different nationalities, based to a great extent on linguistic criteria.

On the contrary, the historic confrontation between France and Germany was weighed as a stone over the possibility that the language spoken in Alsace had

political support. And, the fact that the German authorities clearly protected Flemish during the two occupations of Belgium, has in that country influenced the linguistic conflict. In Norway, on the other hand, the strengthening of the linguistic particularity seems to have been rather a consequence of its independence from Sweden than its origin. The examples could multiply, but all of them lead us to the same conclusion: that the recuperation process of a language has necessarily a political component and that this component takes very different shapes depending on periods and places.

Besides its political implications, the recuperation process of a language is influenced by other factors, some of which I will point out now. The formulation of a political project in defence of a language is not a question of pure willingness, but depends, in its turn, on a lot of factors. Often, the society that speaks the marginal language constitutes a depressed or under-developed region within the state in which it is integrated. Under these conditions it is difficult for a language to gain prestige and symbolic status. One of the keys to the recuperation of Catalan has been the industrial revolution, which converted Catalonia into a progressive and relatively rich country within the Spanish unity. If the political solidarity of those who speak a minority language does not achieve some recognition in the form of more or less autonomous institutions, the recuperation process will soon be blocked.

Autonomous institutions of government can establish and support the administrative use of the language, can promote its use in all cultural dimensions and can, very especially, introduce the language into education with all the consequences that this means. Apart from that, it must be remembered that, starting from a certain

point, in order to assure that the recuperation of a language can keep on progressing, it is necessary that this has been standardized in the sense that its rules have been formulated: dictionary, grammatical rules, spelling rules, etc., and that such rules have a generalized acceptance. It is obvious that as long as these rules have not been formulated, a language cannot have either an administrative use, or an academic use, nor can it be used as a teaching language. We will add that the standardization effort continues in two directions: the definition of the common language, above dialectal differences and modes of use, and the effort to modernize the language and put it in the situation of being used for any subject and in any circumstance. Without this effort the aspiration ceiling of a language has to be necessarily low.

To finish with these remarks about the recuperation process of a language, I will add a comment about its objectives. Truly, it is difficult to specify the objectives of historic processes which spread out in time and which can be modified or exceeded by the passing of time itself. But in any case, it seems natural to say that the recuperation and normalization process of a language has as its main objective the reversion of the "diglossic" situation from which it comes, converting the hitherto weak language into the strong and, therefore, dominant one. But, dominant to what extent? Dominant language in public use, dominant language in any situation, dominant language in the sense of unique language?

It is obvious that the most ambitious objectives can only be achieved by means of political resources that guarantee a complete autonomy in the territory where the language is spoken, either within the frame-

work of a federal state or as an independent state. Without forgetting, though, that political schemes, even the most extreme, do not guarantee by themselves the survival of a language; Ireland is a conclusive example. Ireland's independence has only accelerated its language's decay.

Definitively, a language's recuperation depends on the extent to which those who speak it identify themselves with it and on their will to maintain and promote it. It also depends, as I was saying, on external political factors that can become uncontrollable. And we must not forget that it also depends on simple demographic factors that weigh on the process and which can determine its limits. First of all there is the proportion within the population of those who have as their mother tongue one or another of the languages present. Secondly and more importantly is the total number of speakers of the language that is claimed, and also its demographic evolution. Below minimum levels, the recuperation of a language is always more difficult or it imposes a restriction on the objectives that can be achieved.

Even though my contribution is focussed on the conditions and limits of linguistic recuperation processes, I cannot avoid referring to the process of recuperation of the Catalan language and to its present and future development.

The history of this process is too well known to be worth repeating it here in detail. It starts from a situation in the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth in which the language is maintained in the country and in the cities where Catalan is spoken, but its use is limited to the fields of the family and

daily life. In formal and written uses Castilian is preferably or exclusively used. A situation, then, typically "diglossic". Recuperation begins, as I have said, with a re-evaluationof the historic past and with a literary cultivation of the language that progressively extends to other fields.

Recuperation coincides, as I have also mentioned, with Catalonia's industrialization and with the confirmation of a difference of perspective and interests in relation to those of the state and its government organs, which leads to the formulation of a political project and the demand for autonomy.

As a result of this collective effort Catalonia has, for the first time in the modern era, its own government, which assumes the defence of Catalonia's language and culture. A self-government experience, even though being limited, that is repeated some years after with the republic's "Generalitat" (i.e. Catalan Autonomous Government) and which is brutally broken during Franco's period. In Catalonia, the struggle against the pro-Franco tendency includes, on the part of those who participate in it, and regardless of their political colour, the defence of the Catalan language and institutions, and indeed, with the change of regime, there begins another autonomous government period supported by a Constitution that recognizes Spanish linguistic plurality and by a Statute that recognizes Catalan as the true language of Catalonia.

The advances achieved since "renaissance" days and since the first political struggles for Catalonia's sake are obvious enough. The language has been standardized with a set of rules that nobody disputes, and it has been modernized and has proved its capability

of being used in all cultural dimensions. And its quality of being the true language of Catalonia and co-official with Castilian allows it to have an important institutional presence, practically exclusive in the parliament and the government of the Generalitat, and considerable in all kinds of public and private institutions.

And it is still necessary to add, and maybe it is the most important fact, that this presence is increasing. More or less quickly, the role of Catalan in public administration is increasing nowadays, as is the proportion of teaching in Catalan and the number of books and TV broadcasting hours. It is not difficult to agree with the affirmation that of all the non-state European languages, Catalan is the one which has the best situation and the best hope of future development.

In spite of this panorama, very positive at first sight, discussions about Catalan's future remain frequent and oscillate equally between optimism and pessimism. There are also curious mixtures of both these outlooks, that claim immediate monolingualism and at the same time announce the unavoidable and future disappearing of Catalan if the present situation continues.

To formulate a better balanced opinion, I will allow myself two considerations. The first one is to refer to the impression that Catalan had achieved, immediately before Franco's period, a situation of complete linguistic normalization that the pro-Franco tendency destroyed and which still has not been recovered, so despite the apparent progress there has actually been a recession.

With the authority that is conferred on me by

having directly known the former situation in the war, I can say that this impression is wrong and that in most aspects Catalan was not in a better situation than today but worse. To take as significant an example as education, the proportion of students that were given education about or in Catalan in the schools during the republican period, did not reach 20%, whereas nowadays practically all students are educated about Catalan and almost 40% are educated in Catalan. Even at the Autonomous University, so justly missed, the percentage of classes given in Catalan was lower than the present. And, to give another example, the presence that Catalan has in the Post Office, RENFE, IBERIA or in certain state delegations, even though limited, is much superior to what it was then, which was none and I would even add that it was unthinkable. And, in a more general field, I think it is obvious that the attitude of the Spanish leaders towards Catalonia and its autonomy was much more critical and hostile than now. During those years the flow of immigration was very strong and, if it is true that the immigrants who settled in a Catalan environment would become integrated and learn the language, it is also true that the vast majority concentrated in the suburbs of Barcelona and the Baix Llobregat, and they stayed totally apart from Catalan society and its language. Some facts produced nowadays, like the efforts of left wing parties to "catalanize" the working class movement, the "catalanization" trends promoted by councils with a majority of immigrant population, to say nothing of the good will with which many immigrant families have welcomed teaching in Catalan, are absolute novelties, in contrast with what happened then.

And, we still must take into account, and this fact is essential, the continuity in the effort. Both Mancomunitat and Generalitat (1931-1939) had very little

time to do all the tasks that they had aimed to do. The Escola de Mestres (School of Teachers), created by the Generalitat to provide the human base of the "catalanization" of education, did not last to see its first students find employment. The present Generalitat has already lasted longer than the republican Mancomunitat and Generalitat together and it seems that it will last for many years. Some innovations that affect Catalan not only have been produced but also are in the process of stabilization and becoming irreversible.

And until now I have just referred strictly to Catalonia. The progress of the political and social role of the Catalan language, compared with the 30s in the rest of the Catalan countries is literally sensational.

But, once having said all this that is true and is convenient to remember, we must pay our attention to the negative or limiting aspects of the process, and this will be my second comment.

When I recall the times before the war, in the environment where I lived, I realize that to me, like the majority of inhabitants of Catalonia, daily life was performed in Catalan more than now. At school and at Balmes Institute the classes could be in Castilian, but outside classes we spoke practically only in Catalan. And in the village, in the different villages I knew and in the city district where I lived, Catalan was the predominant language of communication and that which characterized community life, a thing that I would not dare to say now. There has been, then, a change, but it is a change that cannot be expressed simply by means of an intensity measure. It

must be related to a difference in social ways of living. Then social life was based more than now on direct and immediate relations in a limited geographic space, the street, the neighbourhood, the ward. The "festa major" (main festivity or festival), the meetings and conversations, the amateur theatre, the excursion centre ... were its centres. And all this, or the vast majority, was in Catalan. Today, on the contrary, social life takes place in much more open spaces which tourism and TV, being mass phenomena, let us see. It is a society dominated by technology, and this is put at the service of economic interests ever more widespread and internationalized. In such a society the communication tone is given, more than by direct and personal communications, by communication mass media: newspapers, magazines, cinema, TV, and also, in an increasing proportion, by computer systems. And the presence of a language in those areas is partly conditioned by its economic potentialities. And the economic potentialities of Catalan are inferior to other neighbouring languages.

Stated in a summarized way, the facts which limit the normalization process of Catalan are, in my opinion:

1. There are, in the first place, institutional limits. Catalonia is integrated in the Spanish state and according to the Constitution Castilian is the first official language of the state and its common language. Thus knowledge of Castilian on the part of the Catalans is unavoidable.
2. Moreover, through its political structure Spain constitutes a common economic area, with free communication of properties and services in its interior, and this economic unity favours Castilian, too. However difficult a deep change in the state's structure might be to imagine, it seems

even more difficult to omit this economic area.

3. Even though there are not authentic figures, it seems that nowadays, almost half of the inhabitants of Catalonia have Castilian as first language and they use it preferably in family life. Thus, even though, unlike the situation some years ago, the vast majority understand Catalan too, and many of them speak it, they will transfer Castilian to their children as first language.
4. The proportion of families with Castilian as first language within the Catalan population is now stabilized. But, since demographic indexes are low, it is possible to imagine in the future, new migratory flows coming from the south of Spain or, most probably from Africa, with the subsequent danger to the language.
5. But, as I was saying, the greater danger to the Catalan language possibly comes from the characteristics of contemporary society, strongly technological and cosmopolitan which, while promoting multilingualism attaches the use of a language to its economic potentialities. More and more the cultural products, books, newspapers, magazines, films, videos, TV, computers ... need to be based on a wider market to bring profits and Catalan speakers are a relatively small potential market.

To conclude, during little more than a century, Catalan has made extraordinary progress, passing from a purely "diglossic" situation to become, in most aspects, Catalonia's main language. Continuity of this progress is not, though, assured. New circumstances establish limits which are very difficult to overcome and which put in danger even the objectives achieved. The challenge is great. But, as always, the future of

the language depends in the end on the people who speak it, on the extent to which we who speak it identify ourselves with it and on the efforts that we are willing to dedicate to it.

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SOME ASPECTS OF LEARNING/TEACHING ROMANIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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0. I shall briefly present here: some data concerning the peculiarities of one of the languages of Europe less taught as a foreign language - the Romanian language (RL) - and a history of teaching it as a foreign language (FL), also mentioning handbooks published by Romanian as well as foreign scholars (1); then (2) I will speak about the current status of teaching RL as a FL at a university level in various countries and in Romania for foreign students; various studies (3) on the process of learning RL as a FL will also be presented, and, in particular, two major pieces of research conducted on this topic by Slama-Cazacu and by Doca (a former doctorand in psycholinguistics), which show some peculiarities of this process in a contrastive approach, as well as due to features specific to RL.

The need was felt, in the international bibliography of applied linguistics, of such a synthetic presentation, including the points mentioned above. This explains the brevity of this contribution, as well as the intention to approach some of the major problem topics, even though these can only be treated in general terms in the present context.

1.0 RL is a Romance language (derived from Latin, like French, Italian, etc.), with several influences due to the history of the territory of ancient Dacia, when the Romans - after having occupied and "Romanized" it, also leaving many of their soldiers there - withdrew a great part of their army. These influences do not alter the fundamental Latin structure of this lan-

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guage. I will endeavour to briefly mention evidence of this:

1.1 W. Meyer-Lübke (1930; 2, 35-6) the outstanding Romanist, who was also a scholar very "prudent" in his statements (Iordan 1968, 11) - wrote, synthetically, that RL is not less Romanic than the other languages deriving from Latin, and that it preserves - even more than the other Romance languages - some features that are characteristic of Latin. Its linguistic structure "resisted" in a "kind of 'fight' against the other structures, different from the genealogic point of view, with which it came into contact". For instance, despite disadvantageous conditions, not only its grammatical structure resisted such influences, but also its phonological system apparently "different" from other Romance languages (some salient differences from Romance languages such as the phonemes *ă, [ə] î, [ɣ]* - *bătrîn* "old" - and diphthongs *ea, oa* - *deal* "hill, *doar* "only" - are due to "internal" causes of evolution, and not to external causes; it seems that only the *h* - *hoț*, "thief" - is due to such influences - cf. Iordan, *ibid.*). As regards the vocabulary, which is somewhat more heterogeneous than in other Romance languages, it is much more unitary than it seems to be, because one must take into consideration the frequency and use of its components. There are synonyms which come from languages other than Latin, but the *fundamental* words, and in fact the "quality" of the more frequent words in the conversation of everyday life present a Latin origin, or, integrated into communicative contexts, they are submitted to a grammatical processing which is essentially of a Latin origin. RL also resembles the other Romance languages in its capacity for enrichment - almost unlimited - through its "internal" or own means (and this is to be

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noticed not only in its vocabulary, but also in its syntax). It is very important to underline - and, I think, of great importance - not only from the theoretical point of view, but also for the teaching/learning process - that, nowadays, the most productive suffixes and prefixes are of recent Latin-Romance origin (e.g., some affixes existing even in non-Romance languages are of such a category: *-aţ, -ian, -i, -ie, -itate, - iza-* akin to *-ism* and *-ist*), and also the modern *auto-, cine-, micro-, pre-, radio-, tele-* (Iordan 1968, 10), thus making the learning of this language easier. Contemporary RL shows a great capacity for enriching its vocabulary and even its syntax, thus being able to express any concept and any logical relation (I could add that it is particularly difficult to find good translations into other languages, because besides its wide variety of synonyms and its grammatical richness, RL has also a great flexibility in expressing ideas as well as features of a perceptual or sensory category, as well as nuanced feelings). If this phenomenon is to be noticed first in literary registers, it also becomes frequent in the so-called *language populaire* ("common speech").

1.2 This neo-Latin language situated in the middle of languages of various other origins seemed to be a "miracle" (and it was called such by some scholars - and by some an "enigma" - Lot 1937, *apud* Iordan 1968, 12). Romanian linguists and Romanists, however, have tried to explain this situation and the peculiarities of RL. The Latin tradition in RL and its position as against the other Romance languages can be explained through its history: in the beginning, Dacia was *not* at the "periphery" of the Roman Empire - no more than other areas -, and it only became a "periphery" after the decline of the Eastern Roman Empire (and even after that event, it

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was not in such isolation as Sardinia or Portugal). This explains why alloglot influences were acting upon the future RL, but also explains its peculiarities as a Latin language due to the relations the North Danubian territory had with the Southern one, where Romanization was still powerful up to a certain moment (and this also explains the South Danubian Romanian dialects - cf. Iordan 1968, 5). What is also a salient peculiarity of RL is its *unity* on the territory of the ancient Dacia (North Danubian); its dialects are only in the Balkans area (South Danubian). This fact - as well as comparisons that began to be made by scholars who knew Latin in the 16th century and later - generated a powerful national consciousness (even among illiterate people). RL has also aroused great interest among linguists since several centuries ago, and particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries. They began to study RL for their own interests as Romanists, but also as general linguists, also finding a language which allowed opportunities for original studies (important studies were published by Sandfeld 1902, 1930, *apud* Iordan 1968, p.4), Tagliavini 1923 a.o., Meyer-Lübke 1930 a.o., Werner Bahner, etc. - and by Romanian linguists (B.P. Hasdeu, Alexandru Philippide, Ovid Densusianu, Iorgu, Iordan, Alexandru, Rosetti etc.). Foreign scholars started to teach RL in their Romance languages courses, and to set up RL "lectorates", also publishing handbooks of RL as a FL. Young people began to study this language in order to complete their university training in Romance languages, but also to read literature. Finally, also touristic interests arose, as well as some motivation for knowing what was considered an "exotic" country and its language. More recently, also, for studying, in Romanian universities, not only literature, language, art and history of this

country, but also medicine, agronomy, engineering, etc.

1.3 A question was essential for teaching RL as a FL - and for the learners who would not have a strong motivation for learning this language except for a deeper specialization as Romanists: is it a "difficult" language? Certainly, this is a layman's question, at any rate put in layman's terms. It cannot be answered *in absoluto*, and has to be connected with the base language of the learner. We can now meet, in Bucharest, students from Africa or Asia, from Bulgaria or Germany, China, the USSR, from Israel or the Arab countries, besides Francophones, Anglo-Saxons etc. - who learn RL and speak it - according to their motivations - very well. There are, certainly, some features more specific to RL, some others that may become "difficulties" according to the learner's mother tongue. Among the apparent difficulties for some learners having various base languages are the phonemes *ă*, *î*, and some diphthongs (but I wouldn't consider it less difficult for a French learner to master the pronunciation of *th* in English, or for a Romanian the *e muet* in French, etc.). This language has a strong specificity in morphology (which was found by us - when conducting research in the Romanian-English contrastive project as being one of the most important differences between Romanian and English - which has fewer morphological difficulties than syntactic ones, at least for Romanian-speaking learners). I will quote from the remarks made by one of the best specialists in RL in the USSR, who also teaches this language at a higher level at the University of Leningrad and speaks RL almost as a native speaker (although she only learnt it when she began her university studies in Leningrad) (Repina, 1968, 6):

> The grammatical structure of RL is characterized by a strong binding of the elements of the flexionary and analytical construction. The existence of the nouns declension, the clear expression, in the majority of cases, of the verbal inflexion, the complex system of the declension of personal pronouns, of the demonstratives and other pronouns, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, the system of the articles, much richer than in any Western or Southern Romance language (in fact, the majority of the articles are declined), the ample system of prepositions [which, I shall add, are connected with nouns and not with verbs, as in English - note TSC], the presence of complex analytical forms of verbs, all that may create special difficulties in the acquisition of RL.

"The phonetic structure of RL, which basically continues Late Latin, is also characterized by some non-Romance features", and this is considered by the same author among the "difficulties". She also adds that the "relatively free word-order, the diversity of the means for grammatical determination, the predominant use of the subjunctive confer special syntactic features on RL". A specialist in RL who was a Francophone underlined:

> The difficulty of RL does not consist in its general structure, or in its syntactic details (e.g. the syntax of subordinate sentences does not offer any difficulty to beginners), but in the subtlety in the use of the articles. Sometimes the noun is totally deprived of an article (if it is introduced by any other preposition except *cu* ["with"], sometimes, on the contrary, the *group noun plus qualifying adjective* is enriched by little determiners such as: a postposed article, an adjectival article, a possessive article. (Guillermou 1953, 7 *apud* Doca 1976).

I will return to such "difficulties", speaking about the necessity for thorough scientific research not only in order to determine "the sensitive points" (the difficulties) according to the specific base language (mother tongue) in a

contrastive approach, but also in order to state the order of teaching the various forms of RL, etc.

1.4 As mentioned before, many scholars who were interested in RL as foreigners have also published handbooks for teaching this language. The same was done, even before, by Romanians (I am speaking here about handbooks intended to be used for foreigners learning RL, and not about "grammars" of RL in the general meaning). Among the first, if not even the first one to appear, was the handbook "German-Valachian" by Ioan Molnar, published in Vienna in 1788, meant to be used by non-native speakers of RL from Transylvania, Bucovina and the Banat (included in the Austro-Hungarian Empire). In 1827, Stefan Margela published, in Petersburg, a "Russian-Romanian grammar", one of the first attempts to present a contrastive handbook. In the 19th century handbooks for Francophones also appeared, and mostly after the creation of the "Romanian Principalities" (1859), the interest in this part of Europe increased in Western countries: as a consequence, handbooks and lexicons of RL appeared in a great number (for an acquaintance with the language "spoken by 8 million people" (Mircesco [V.Alecsandri], 1863, XXV-XXVI). At the same time, many such books appeared in Vienna, Czernovitz, Brasov, Sibiu, for German-speaking learners. After the beginning of the 20th century, the awareness of the interest presented by RL for linguistics generated the publication of handbooks written by well-known linguists such as Weigand 1903, Tagliavini 1923, etc.). After the Second World War the handbooks for RL as a FL increased in number, also due to the extension of the area where the interest in this language was [illegible]ned (Asia, Africa, America). Many of the principles to use in the

last few decades were used for these handbooks such as the principle of grouping the words around a "lexical field" or "centres of interest" and also based on the most various theoretical concepts - structuralist (Cazacu *et al.*), comparative-historical (Tagliavini 1923: he even gave texts concerning old RL, from the 15th - 16th centuries, etc.), or generative (Augerot, Popescu 1969). Some of these handbooks in fact presented "descriptions" of RL grammar, and in the past only a few set out to consider the practical aims of the teaching process or, in any case, to facilitate the learning of RL through the application of didactic principles (among them: Cazacu *et al.* 1967, 1980 - created and used at the Summer Courses at Sinaia and widely used and appreciated abroad; it remains the only one published in Romania, also adding acoustic aids - a record etc.). After several years of tests, in the courses for foreign students in various Romanian universities, a handbook written by a group at the University of Bucharest (Brâncus *et al.* 1982) was adopted and recommended by the Romanian Ministry of Education for teaching RL as a FL to foreign students. Its characteristics are: to be meant to serve for the students of the "preparatory year, semester I", to combine "traditional and modern methodologies", to train them "concomitantly" for all language levels (phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, phraseology), to help "progressive acquisition" and mostly for "everyday conversation" and dialogues; only some scientific terminology is given, "no intermediary language" is used, and therefore many words are explained through contexts - also in order to avoid interferences with the base language; in the second part, texts on topics of Romanian history, geography, culture etc. are included. Several books containing "exercises" were also published, by the groups of var-

ious Romanian universities (one of them, also written on the basis of psycholinguistic research, of which I will speak further, was published by our doctorand, Doca, 1981).

Various foreign publishing houses considered it was of a commercial interest for them to publish such handbooks (some are written by Romanian scholars; unfortunately, the majority are not based on special research in the field).

2.0 *Teaching RL as a FL, in special courses.*

2.1 *Outside Romania*, RL has long been taught in universities (in accordance with the interests of some scholars, as I mentioned above). After the Second World War, the so-called "lectorates" were created in various universities and mostly in the 60s they proliferated very much, on an exchange basis. The lectors were mostly trained at Romanian universities and the "lectorates" are usually integrated with the departments of Romance languages (they have libraries with Romanian publications, the majority of them sent, on an exchange basis mostly, by the Central Library of the University of Bucharest; such "seminars" and "libraries" can be seen in any country, from Paris-Censier, or Roma-La Sapienza, to Waseda University in Tokyo, etc.). Many of these centres for teaching RL as a FL for students (we have not many workers abroad, needing teaching for their children and for themselves) are enthusiastic in their activities, which include, besides language courses, learning Romanian folklore, dances, popular songs, poems, etc. I have heard a brief comedy in Romanian, acted by Japanese students at a university in Tokyo. And, among other examples, I can mention the beautiful collection of volumes of the

"lectorate" at Turku-Finland, which the Romanian lector Ion Stavarus, published for several years, with the help of the head of the Department of Romance Languages, Lauri Lindgren; it contains Romanian poems translated into Finnish or from Finnish into Romanian: the beautiful "Kantelar" - collection of Finnish runes, translated into Romanian - etc. Such productions are concrete proof of the fact that RL *can* be learned by foreigners, at a high level of proficiency even, if there is enough *motivation*, (at the Summer Courses at Sinaia, we heard Romanian poems recited by students from *all* countries of the world, often with a perfect pronunciation; or "compositions" written *ex tempore* in a perfect grammar and a rich vocabulary, in the seminars for foreign students at Bucharest, which I will mention below: for instance, good "compositions" written by Chinese students).

2.2 *In Romania*, RL is taught as a FL at the university level or for children (foreigners who spent here a longer interval of time - such as Greeks or Koreans, for instance, many years ago - ; or as a second language for pupils in the classes of RL for children belonging to the other nationalities - "minorities"; and, though pertaining to the process of developing RL as a mother tongue, it is perhaps interesting to mention that there are special classes - 2 hours per week - in the first two forms, for children having RL as a mother tongue, for "improving speech"). a) As regards the teaching of RL as a FL at the university level in Romania, we ought to mention first the "Summer Courses". This was the first organized way of teaching RL as a FL for foreigners at this level. The first "Summer Courses" for RL as a FL after the Second World War were those organized by the University of Bucharest (several

years later, there were also such courses at other Romanian universities), and they began in 1960, at Sinaia[1]. b) Courses of RL as a FL at the university level in Romania are given for students who come to Romania for training in any speciality. These courses mostly increased in the 70s, with higher numbers of students coming from various countries for training in various specialities, from medicine to philology, from agriculture to history, economics, engineering etc. They are organized at the various universities, with the same curriculum, taught exclusively by persons from the university staff, and, with slight variations they now use the same handbooks. They are attended either by postgraduates, who come for the doctorate (in RL and literature, but also in other fields), or to do research or a "specialization", or - the majority - undergraduate students, who come for their university studies in the various fields mentioned before. All these students (postgraduates included) have to attend the so-called "preparatory year", where an introduction into their speciality is taught, but mostly a teaching of RL as a FL is envisaged[2].

The result (I think, due to the special *motivation*) is that all these students speak and understand RL pretty well (one has many opportunities also of meeting them in the street and hearing them speak RL). From my own experience I can mention an Albanian of over 40 years old, who came for *one year's* training in psycholinguistics (knowing Italian and Russian); after 3 months of learning RL (with a doctorand of mine, but for the most part *alone*, with his own well-motivated efforts), he was able to understand my lectures and to take an active part in our seminars of psycholinguistics; in the summer, when he left, he was able to speak RL (and to read proficiently).

3.0 *Studies* and *research* are necessary in order to establish any curriculum and any method or handbook for teaching any language as a FL. My opinion is very strong in this respect, and I add the necessity of envisaging a strong basis of psycholinguistics in this process of organizing teaching of a FL (see Slama-Cazacu 1968/1973, 1971a, 1971b, 1973b, 1975, 1983, etc.).

3.1 For learning and teaching RL as a FL, I also have envisaged special previous investigations; I will mention some of them (and mainly the two more comprehensive ones done by me, and then by Doca 1981). Some studies have also been done more recently by the staff who teach RL as a FL, but mostly based on *observation* and not meant to be organized research as the ones I will speak of below (manyof these studies are presented at the Symposia of the Romanian Working Commission of Applied Linguistics - GRLA/RWCAL - affiliated to AILA - which greatly encourage such presentations and their publication).

3.2 The *first research* on RL learned as a FL was begun by myself at the Summer Course at Sinaia, in the early 60s (dictations, records of pronunciation, etc.). This study was continued, in a better organized way, by me and our doctorand G. Doca (Slama-Cazacu 1977, also in Slama-Cazacu 1975), according to the methodology I developed, of the Acquisition Corpus, Aberrant Corpus and Hierarchical System of Errors (Slama-Cazacu 1974). Various proofs were used (free composition, dictation, translation, etc.), which brought to the Acquisition Corpus, out of which the Aberrant Corpus was processed (by classifying the errors), and then by statistical processing we established the most frequent errors. This first piece of research was more difficult

of achievement to the detail implied by my method, because 23 base languages were used (with RL as the target language; 246 subjects). However, interesting data were obtained (presented at the 3rd AILA Congress), showing some of the most frequent or typical errors in learning RL whatsoever the base language would be (as interferences or in any case sensitive points due to morphological peculiarities, etc.). Many errors were also noticed, which depended on the *base language* (and also on another foreign language previously learned -such as Italian, or Spanish, for a Francophone, etc.). E.g; *avem petrecut*, instead of *am petrecut*, "we have enjoyed", an error made by German and English native speakers as in their languages the verb *haben*, *have* is the same when used predicatively or as an auxiliary, while in Romanian *a avea* is different for the 1st and 2nd persons plural, plus 3rd sg when it is used as auxiliary - *noi am petrecut*, "we have enjoyed", or predicatively, *noi avem cărți*, "we have books". A great number of errors were however identified which depended on the storage already acquired *in the target language* (which I call errors of "regularization", and which also appear when a child is learning its mother tongue - as *goed* (for *went*), *mens* (for *men*), etc. - see Slama Cazacu 1973c; these enter very probably the category of the "universals of learning"). E.g.: *vedînd* and not *văzînd* "seeing" (a self formulated "rule" from *el vede*,"he sees", *a vedea*, "to see")or: *înconjurează*, "he-she surrounds", *înălțează*, "he-she arises", instead of *înconjură*, *înalță*, due to verbs already learned, in the first lesson: *corectează*, "he-she corrects", *lucrează*, "he-she works.

This result (about 50% of errors generated by properties of *storage in the target language* and not due to base language influence) was among the first proofs

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against the basic principle of contrastive linguistics. It was also corroborated with the results we obtained at the period within the framework of the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project, where I employed the same methodology as the one established for the Summer Course of Romanian (see Slama-Cazacu (ed.) 1975 etc.). It was also verified by the doctoral thesis of G. Doca (1981), who used exactly my methodology and succeeded in establishing also the hierarchical system of errors (as we have done also for the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project - RECAP -, in the learning of RL by Francophones. He did research in Romania, with foreign students, as well as in France, at the RL lectorates; his research was afterwards used by him in order to teach RL and to publish a book of exercises. Such research shows on the one hand the necessity and usefulness of thorough studies in order to elaborate efficient handbooks and methods for teaching any language (and in our case, RL) as a FL, and not only as a guide for teachers, showing the sensitive points in learning a FL (here, RL), but also for general results interesting for linguistics as such. On the other hand, it shows the imperative necessity for using a *psycholinguistic* approach in such studies, as well as in the process of teaching a FL (Slama-Cazacu (1981/1983) (because my starting point was a criticism of "traditional" contrastive analysis - i.e. a comparison *in abstracto* of the two systems: base and target languages -, advocating an analysis of the results of the meeting of the two languages *in the learner* - see Nemser, Slama Cazacu 1970).

3.3 We may say that research on one of the "less widely taught, to non-natives, languages in Europe", RL, and also on learning English on the basis of this same language, brought about some results which are of a

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peculiar interest also for applied linguistics in general, or for linguistics *tout court*, such as: the use of psycholinguistics as a basis in contrastive studies, the modification of the "traditional" contrastive principle of the dominant influence of the base language, or some data concerning various categories of errors (as "regularization") that may be considered as "universals of learning a language", etc.

4.0 We may conclude that: any of the "less widely taught languages in Europe" *can* be learned by foreigners (it has *no* inherent difficulties for members of the other linguistic communities, making it "impossible" or "difficult" to be learnt), if a *motivation* exists, and also if a minimum of *materials* (handbooks, etc.) as well as an organizational *framework* are provided: such a process should have a *scientific research basis*, and develop from *thorough studies* carried out by experts.

There are *no* inherent difficulties for non-natives, in learning a "less widely taught language" or making it *more* "difficult" than the "widely" learned languages. And the future of Europe will be based on learning one, two or more foreign languages - one more "widely" and one or more among the "less widely", also preserving one's own language. Moreover, it will be based on becoming aware of the importance of each language, of its "beauty", and of the cultural and human interest in learning any language as a mother tongue *and* also any one as a second and as a FL as well.

NOTES

1. They were very much appreciated abroad; the participants were, in the 60s and middle 70s, invited from among students and young researchers (half of the participants - mostly chosen from students following RL courses at their university and from scholars interested in RL or its literature, culture, etc. Many of the latter were teaching RL at their universities, or performing research on RL, or on other aspects of Romanian culture, for which knowledge of this language was necessary. There were also many linguists who wanted to complete their knowledge, by learning this language for general linguistics for instance (André and Jeanne Martinet were invited, as well as T.A. Sebeok, Pierre Guiraud, Alain Rey, B. Pottier, W. Bahner, R.A. Budagov, Manuel Alvar, E. Tappe, G. Szope, Rucqaya Hassan etc.). These courses included 3 categories of learners (beginners, medium level, high level), they consisted of seminars and laboratory practice, and lectures delivered by some of the best linguists, historians, etc.

2. Except those who, at the beginning of the first year, passing an examination, are considered as sufficiently proficient in RL - or those classified in special seminars for those "advanced" in mastering RL - all have the same programme of studies: in the 1st semester, 34 hours of RL per week, then an oral test is taken (the mark is not necessarily taken into consideration at the end of the year); after 4 months, from February onwards, they take an examination, and this mark is considered for their admission (mark 5 for students, point 7 for doctorands - basis 10); this mark is also taken into consideration at the end of their studies, for the M.A. degree. In the 2nd semester, the programme includes: 3 days per week - an introduction to their speciality, 3 days - RL. Teaching methods envisage the written language as well as the spoken. The handbook is the one mentioned above. With some students, English or French is used as a lingua franca, with others even the Latin alphabet has to be taught (Arabs).

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LANGUAGE POLICY, LANGUAGE PLANNING, STATUS PLANNING

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In English one can make a distinction between *language policy* and *language politics*. *Language policy* is long range planning and provision connected with language in any way, and its implementation in various forms. *Language politics* may cover the same area and may be active in the same way; the major distinctive feature of language politics can be found in its relation to power. As in most European languages there is but one reflex for the Latin *politica*, one term covers both aspects, and more often than not, power is present in glotto-political deliberations.

One could ask the question whether *l. p.* (especially language policy) should be regarded as a social activity or as a discipline, or as both. The same problem exists with political science or with its specialized branches. There is no doubt about the existence of activities falling into the scope of language policy, or the possibility of collecting social acts and lumping them together in something which may be called language policy. This is almost trivial. But the theoretical status of a discipline on language policy (also called language policy) is more dubious. There is something emerging very slowly as an interdiscipline by the merging of sociology of language, educational policy, and some aspects of political science proper, and containing parts from demography, law and some other disciplines.

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There is, as yet, no discipline of language policy, but there is a very fruitful zone of cooperation more or less established as the - interdisciplinary - field of language policy. The present embryonical state has some influence upon the level and the form of expression within language policy. Huge data collections and brilliant essays characterize the field, but very few well-founded valid statements have been made.

The practical relevance of language policy, both as an activity and as a scholarly terrain, seems, nevertheless, rather high. One of the reasons may be that novelty prevails over depth; another reason is very simple: language tends to be more important nowadays than it was formerly, and more and more sets of people have something to say about language or languages. Let us look into the motivation of people who deal with what we may call language policy.

Decision-makers have to and find arguments, a "philosophy", pretexts for their acts, mainly because of the change in the structure of public life (including international public opinion created by the mass media). Researchers of social sciences (especially of political sciences) tend to describe the dynamics of societies, changes and trends. Social sciences, it seems, have surpassed their long-lasting Linnaean period when constellations, structure, i.e. surface phenomena were described. The new stage requires such dimensions as "satisfaction", "happiness" etc., i.e. the accounting for the reactions of men and peoples. Language cannot be omitted from such observations, and so language gets transformed from mere demographical aspects into something fundamental for the identity of its speakers. (Let us parenthesize for the moment the other, the old, way of making synthesis, i.e. the

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historical way which exists more and more as a method in social research).

Linguists may or may not have been exposed to language policy during their active life; this may depend not only on their socio-historical context, but also on their individual conditions of life, and on such factors as their temperament, courage, activism etc. Linguists may be committed to some change in the status of languages, furthermore they may be requested to contribute to the change as "language experts". But they also may initiate some changes. Linguists are not necessarily grammarians; literary gentlemen, writers, journalists, cultural organizers behave as applied linguists in linguistic movements; and, in addition to it, sometimes literary and cultural movements contain major linguistic aspects where educated people interested in language are in the forefront, and one cannot easily separate the roles and fields involved. Nevertheless, I have to stress that language policy is *not* a regular and compulsory part of linguistics. While, on the other hand, language policy is more or less interested in everything produced under the label of linguistics or language studies (language sciences).

Educators are usually interested in language policy falling into the scope of their competence, e.g. a headmaster in problems of his school, a French teacher in the fate of the French language and civilization in a given country, etc. But language policy issues are usually broader, they include more than one language and more than one school or school type. Therefore, efficient handling of these issues needs a broader scope, e.g. that of a larger administrative unit of education or a teacher training college. Those

teachers who are engaged in teacher training want to inform the future teachers about the aforementioned issues in a perspective of three decades or so (without specifying the time span). Since teachers are usually trained towards one language (or in some countries, towards two languages which have something in common), future teachers will be overmotivated towards this language (or these two languages); they will be trained, willy-nilly to develop a marketing strategy of their own, which runs counter to the interest of other languages. Now, some teacher trainers want to inform their students about languages or foreign languages on a larger basis, where the inclusion of other languages - jointly with the mother tongue, languages of the environment, and the second language - needs a cooperative language policy and educational strategy. (It seems to me that the field of languages - at least in some countries - is mostly exposed to the competition of varieties of the same school subject, i.e. the various languages.)

It will be evident from the previous remarks that we postulate the existence of a language policy which unites fields which hitherto were treated separately. Let us take an example: the language policy of the French State after the bourgeois revolution. It could be summed up in three slogans: the State needs one language (i.e. French) all over its territory; there is one best variety spoken within that language: i.e. that of the capital (used by the dominant stratum of the State: the bourgeois of Paris); French people prefer their own idiom in international contacts, be they official or private. These three facets display a heterogeneous field. There is no way of combining these three aspects. Historical explanations are not sufficient either: one can really find the source of

each of the three aspects in the history of France and of the French people. If one wants to construct a single underlying statement, then domination through language by a group of people over other groups of people seems to be the best solution. And in this regard language policy served the expansion of the domination in three directions: a social axis, a geographical-economic axis, and an international axis.

The epiphenomena of the expansion were conflicts, and the handling of these conflicts. Conflicts were produced at several levels beginning with interpersonal contacts between dominating and dominated people speaking different languages or language varieties. Here we should not forget about the double role of language in communication: it functions on the one hand as an instrument of human cooperation, on the other hand it smybolizes one or more characteristics of the speaker, and among these traits political units like the State are also often expressed. Therefore, curiously enough, the more contact one has with speakers of other language varieties, the more conflicts one may experience. Therefore, one can be sure that above a certain level of development (commerce, international contacts, national market, etc.) language conflicts will appear.

Language policy in this respect is nothing other than (a) the handling of language conflicts in the short run, and (b) the avoiding of language conflicts in the long run. The short term language policies are usually of a restrictive type, while those of long(er) terms may be constructed in various ways, for example, having some kind of positive programmes.

When mentioning the term "restriction", one should be careful in identifying those who are restricted,

and those who restrict other people, and those who profit from the restriction. (For a very long time many scholars were deeply convinced that they were in possession of a waterproof device which could decide whether a historical move is progressive or reactionary: as a consequence the drive for using one's own language was often qualified as reactionary. This no longer holds: since language is included in the defining set of human groups - in a non-compulsory way - sweeping generalizations on progress do not serve as exhaustive explanations for language phenomena.)

Here we must speak of the legal side of language issues. The right to use one's own mother tongue in school, work, public life may be attached to a given territory where the speakers of the language reach a certain level (quantity of speakers, the priority of arrival, social prestige). It also may be attached to the individual's mother tongue, independently from the fact of where he lives. The former variety is the "territorial language right", while the latter is the "personal language right".

It is well known that territorial language rights are *ipso facto* restrictions for the use of the language outside its own, legally protected, territory. Furthermore, there is no way to include any aspect going beyond monolingual mother tongue use in the territorial conception of language right (save the coexistence of languages where only one dominant language is in a privileged position, while the other(s) are legally protected, *ergo* tolerated).

Therefore a third way is needed to cover the necessary aspects. "Language right of the community" appears to be the solution now. This would embody the

language rights of the individuals within the community, independently of their geographical setting, i.e. not only for those who live in blocks, but also for those who live in diaspora. And if a community lives in a compact geographical area, then the right to use the given language may also be - additionally - attached to the territory. This can be called the principle of double protection of minority languages. (Majority languages might also profit from this principle. The only loser is the narrow-minded bureaucrat who is frequently bothered by the mere existence of more than one language).

Community language rights harmonize with the vernacular principle, i.e. the principle advising that one begins schooling in the language the child speaks at home. (The early definition of vernacular was "the language spoken by a group of people dominated by another group of people which speaks a different language"). Community rights also contain chances to solve such complex problems as the language revival for the sake of symbolizing a community, evidently for gaining or regaining its identity vis-à-vis a hitherto dominating community symbolized by another language. In the light of community language rights the revival of Irish is a perfectly legitimate historical action. It could never have been explained either in the framework of a territorial language right, or in the framework of a personal language right. The concept of community language right concedes the coexistence of several (more than one) linguistic communities within the same territory; and it does not exclude the interwoven existence of these languages within the same territory.

Bilingualism is a challenge for almost all branches

of linguistics and applied linguistics. Language policy is also supposed to cover issues and cases of bilingualism. "Bilingual" may be used in connection with an isolated individual, a family, an *ad hoc* group of people, a social segment, a geographical unit, an institution, a State, a federation, and an international (interstate) entity. This is not the place where an extensive discussion of these levels seems to be necessary. From the viewpoint of language policy there are some cases where bilingualism is of paramount importance. The chance to maintain the bilingual character of a family can be assured by some extra moves promoting the education and use of minority languages. The same is valid for maintaining the bilingual (plurilingual) character of some municipalities.

Within a federation based on heterolingual parts, e.g. Switzerland, Belgium, the usual solution is the "bilingualism of general staffs". A more difficult problem is the bilingualism of a non-federal State, where bilingualism is not - or not only - the symbolical coexistence of heterolingual people, but where there are large groups of people who are symbolized by speaking two (or three) idioms.

An ethnic community is characterized by a set of values, where some core values can also be detected. Language may or may not be a core value for an ethnic community, e.g. for the Italian immigrants in Australia (as described by J. Smolicz). And core values may also change: language might return. Most Scottish people do not speak their ancient language any more, still they have quite a few traits for their identification, for the symbolization of their community. A similar situation can be found, e.g. in Bosnia, a republic of Yugoslavia,

where people speak Serbian but do consider themselves as being a "nation" different from the Serbs: Manchurians speak Chinese but consider themselves as a separate kind of people.

If I am permitted to say a word about the present linguistic situation of Ireland, then I would say that we are now in an age when language is becoming a higher value: this is a long range phenomenon, if I am not mistaken. In the short run, people in Ireland can be characterized by two obligatory and one optional feature. Obligatory is the use of one variety within the set of Anglo-Irish; the other obligatory feature is the appreciation of the Irish language, and the optional feature is the use - or the quantity of usage - of the Irish language. Two features refer to the use of languages, while the third (i.e. the appreciation of Irish) is a cultural and political attitude.

And this is the right place to say a word on the problem, "what is a nation?" (May I begin it with a remark of caution: linguistics can dispense with the notion of "nation", and it is not an absolute necessity for language policy either.) In the context of European nation-states and state-nations one cannot, however, avoid answering the above-formulated question.

There have been two schools of thought on the concept of "nation", the German and the French schools. Germans tried to characterize nation by a set of objective criteria like language, territory, religion, race, etc., while the French conception - best formulated by E. Renan - characterizes a nation through accepting a common future, in other words: assuming a common value system which shows the joint way for the future and which may also contain symbolic values of

the past and the present. Language is a quasi-necessary defining trait in the former conception, while it may or may not be present in the latter one. Ireland is a "nation" in both senses, but in the latter one Irish people outside Ireland may also be included in what may be called "the nation of Irish" (in perfect consonance with the language rights conceived for communities).

It is time now to turn toward language planning. (May I omit here, as was intended, the aspects of corpus planning, though they may be quite important for language policy: furthermore, most of the corpus planning actions have a linguistic-political credo). The classical scheme (with slight modifications) of language planning can be summed up in the following way:

1st stage: selection of a language variety;
2nd stage: normalization (standardization);
3rd stage: extension.

In the selection there may be political, emotional, cultural and other motivating factors. In the normalization (standardization) very heterogeneous factors may play a role in a very different mixture, e.g. logic, aesthetic, xenophobic considerations, sometimes even linguistic ones. In the third stage school and mass media (including the church) have a preponderant function. The agents of the three stages are the cultural politician, the applied linguist, and the educator, respectively.

If we include writing in the previous scheme, then the situation, of course, becomes more complex. The design (or selection) of an adequate writing system;

the standardization of orthography (sometimes calligraphy) of the given script; and the alphabetization of people (relabelled nowadays as the "illiteracy campaign") are important parts of the process.

In the light of the tremendous secondary illiteracy (or functional illiteracy) in European States, and taking into consideration the one billion illiterates of our world, alphabetization seems to be the major task in the field of language planning. Neo-illiteracy has emerged in the context of the new mass communication structure where television is absolutely dominating with its video-technique. Language policy has not reckoned with this state of affairs: there is a novel ideal materializing via visual media, and replacing the former ideal of literate - even literary - people. In this respect we are now closer to the Middle Ages, than at any other time since the invention of printing. Linguists are aware of the fact that oral genres have got a different structure than written genres; the structure of the neo-oral culture will also be different. And if we add the impact of computers - including the merger of television, video, computer in a micro-electronic system - then an unforeseen type of cultural and communicational activities can be observed with all its linguistic peculiarities.

What is the relation between language policy and language planning (if we concentrate upon the planning of the status of languages)? They are not alien, very distant terms: sometimes they are used as mere synonyms. Nevertheless, language policy is broader than language planning (status planning); and language planning is more technical than language policy in texts where both terms can be found. The fundamental difference lies

in the sociological saturation of language policy, while language planning is not more concerned with sociological aspects than any branch of applied linguistics. The target of language policy is man, a group of people; while the target of language planning is the language or the languages. These are, however, not such great differences that we could not hope for the appearance of a merger one day between these two approaches. (By the way, may I qualify the existence of the two disciplines, or would-be disciplines as an example of "abundantia scientiarum", not forgetting the useful service done by them.)

There are differences in the agents, too. Language planning is carried out by academics, among them linguists; language policy receives its implementation by various sectors of society (including those who are involved in language planning); the sphere of decision, however, lies outside the scope of experts in almost all major glotto-political issues.

Finally, I want to raise the issue of the international dimension of language policy. There are - evidently - domains which are supra-national (i.e. going beyond the borders of a State) in language policy. There are supra-national - inter-governmental - political, cultural, economic and other bodies which have got an internal problem of their own in communication. Then there are supra-national enterprises which act across borders but may be very monolingual as a matter of fact. Some well-established sectors, like civil aviation, international sea and surface transportation, mailing service, broadcasting in its large sense, and especially tourism are sectors where international communication must be solved. (And we should not forget about such century-old organizations

as diplomacy, international churches, banking and international science.) All these organizations had to find a viable way for their communication problems. In several cases it is not very difficult because live contact among people would take care of the problems anyway. Therefore, not every international organization has got an explicit language policy of its own.

One could investigate the distribution of languages in the international arena from a different approach. Language serves here as a carrier of the interest of people who speak (know) the language either as a mother tongue, or as a second language, or as a foreign language serving communication (in this decreasing order of importance). This is much more than a symbolic function, though it may contain the symbolic aspect as well.

The action deployed in the interest of "less taught languages" by the Helsinki Final Act is a very special enterprise from the viewpoint of language policy. It takes up the uneven distribution of languages as the non-adequate expression of international cooperation. The action organized by Unesco tends to straighten out well-known conflicts among the so-called world languages, then between the set of world languages and the set of "less taught languages". (The whole Helsinki text is designed in a special attitude of international cooperation; but the language policy generated from the Final Act has begun a kind of independent life where some novel elements could also be found. Since this had been the first major international language policy undertaking where East and West Europe (including the United States and Canada) were present, it had to go beyond its original limits).

The original Helsinki text was the result of a hard-negotiated compromise: without a compromise it would not have been possible to sign the agreement. (There are some examples in the Helsinki follow-up for the waiving of signature....) The compromise was made by the governments of sovereign States who have got their internal language policy (be it explicit or implicit). Therefore the Helsinki Final Act contained only international recommendations - expressed in the form of a non-binding treaty - upon foreign language teaching. Minority languages were not mentioned at all; there were some very scarce indications of the protection of rights of minorities (much, much less than in the documents of the League of Nations).

The situation is clear: one should complement the language policy of the Helsinki Final Act by (a) a language policy which is international in its scope but national in its domain; (b) a language policy which reckons with minority languages at international level. Task (a) has been started under the auspices of Unesco, but not limited to Europe. Task (b) has been tackled by the Council of Europe and by various international organizations (but hardly by Unesco).

From the viewpoint of Ireland and the Irish people, I think, only such an internationally accepted language policy seems to be fair where Irish - an idiom which is official but not majorital - finds its due place, and where Celtic idioms are not omitted just because they are "minority" languages.

One is aware of the superiority of rights which have been acquired through conflict. Nevertheless, I think, a meeting sponsored by Unesco seems to be a

domain where linguistic battles can be modelled or simulated by dint of experts representing different language communities, specialities, and being united by the common will to promote peace and development via language. And we may also influence public opinion in our countries in Europe.

Language policy - to sum up - has the aim of transforming the field of language from a zone of possible oppression and marginalization into a zone where equality among men and peoples is carried and promoted by their idioms.

NOTE

This paper is a revised version of the one delivered at the Dublin symposium.

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THE VARIABLE MACEDONIAN STANDARD

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In my paper presented at the symposium *Language Across Cultures*, held in Dublin in 1983, I argued that in areas of close cross-cultural contacts the development of the grammatical categories of a language often diverge from the general trend taken by the grammatical categories of the language family to which the given language belongs. My argument was based on an analysis of some aspects of the development of the Indo-European verbal system. With examples from French, Spanish, German, English, Irish, Russian, Bulgarian and Macedonian, I showed how, in the language communities whose boundaries intersect with those of "alien" language communities, the forms of the Indo-European Perfect have diverged from the general European tendency of replacing the exponents of the Aorist and have become markers of an aspectual category which denotes relevance of an anterior action in a given moment, combining with quite a number of signals of other categories (tense being only one of them) to yield a rather analytic verbal system. My discussion of the Macedonian standard language will start with an analysis of the way in which the signals of the categories of Tense, Perfect Aspect and Reporting Modality of its verb are combined.

The exponents of the present-day Macedonian Perfect, equivalents of *have* plus respective forms of deverbative adverbs, are a relatively recent development, triggered through intensive contacts with Albanian, Aromanian and Greek; the old Common Slavonic exponents of the Perfect, equivalents of *be* plus respective passive participles, being transformed into

exponents of Reporting Modality, again under the influence of language contacts with an "alien" language, Turkish in this case. But while the contacts with Turkish have been evenly spread throughout the Macedonian language community, those with Albanian, Aromanian and Greek have been perspicuous only in Western Macedonia. This has led to the establishment of two verbal subsystems within the Macedonian standard language itself. One of them has two past tenses: a Simple Past Tense (the former Imperfect) and a Composite Past Tense (the former Perfect); the latter, in addition to its traditional function, signalling reported actions and states. The other system has only one past tense, whose exponents are in interaction with distinct exponents of more than one aspectual and modal category. Consider the following sentences:

(1) a. *Ne sum go pokanil.*
not am him invite(act.
(encl.) part. m.s.)
'I haven't (reportedly) invited him.'

b. *Go neman pokaneto.*
him not have invite(deverb.
(1st p.s.) adverb)
'I haven't invited him.'

c. *Sum go nemal pokaneto.*
am him not have(act. invite(deverb.
(encl.) part. m.s.) adverb)
'I haven't (reportedly) invited him.'

Sentence (1)a. would be produced by speakers who have internalized the system with two past tenses; the composite past tense which it represents would have the meaning of the Perfect with or without the additional meaning of reported modality. Sentences (1)b. and (1)c. would be produced by speakers who have internalized

the system with one past tense; (1)b, has signals of the Perfect Aspect {*imam* + *-to*}, while (1)c. embodies signals of both Perfect Aspect {*ima* + *-to*}, and reported modality {*sum* + *-l*}.

When the Macedonian standard was codified (by and large in the late forties and in the fifties) the formal exponents and functional loads of both systems were sanctioned. This might have been done inadvertently, in which case no justification is in order; yet, looking carefully into the overall linguistic situation, in synchrony and diachrony, one comes to think that, at least subconsciously, the codifiers might have been reasoning along the following lines: The *ima* + deverbative adverb forms have restricted scope of usage but have the advantage of being built into the verbal systems of the Western dialects, which constitute the core of the Macedonian standard language[1]. In accord with the tradition of standardization obtaining throughout the Slavonic world, the decision to base the standard on these dialects has been substantially influenced by the fact that they exhibit features that distinguish Macedonian from the neighbouring Slavonic languages. As the *ima* + deverbative adverb forms count amoung these features, one could not keep them out of the standard code. The less so, since they were assumed to belong to it in the first manifesto of Macedonian linguistic policy, published at the turn of the century (Misirkov, 1903)[2].to which the Macedonian linguists refer with reverence. On the other hand, the Macedonian speakers of the Eastern and Northern dialects, who outnumber those of the Western and South-Western ones, express resultativeness through the signals of the old Perfect, which are also used to denote reported actions and states. So, one had to take into consideration those signals with that functional load,

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as well. The more so, since the capital of Macedonia, Skopje, is in a Northern dialect area.

The use of the *ima* + deverbative adverb signals in the standard language is highly conditioned by the dialectal heritage of the respective speaker(s), and so is the functional load of *šum* + active participle ones. Typically, a Macedonian develops in a specific local dialect atmosphere. If he lives in one of the provincial towns, he grows up with a specific local dialect - distinct from the one in the next town even when the latter is no more than ten to fifteen kilometres off - and with a version of the Macedonian standard, which includes all the elements that the dialect shares with the standard language, as well as a varying number of non-standardized elements characteristic for the language of the area, but definitely excludes all optional standardized features which have their roots in another area. An average speaker of Macedonian who was born and lived in the capital, would follow the same pattern; if he were well-educated and involved in activities that required official comumunication, however, he would grow up with: (a) a local dialect, (b) a broader regional code in which the local dialect and the standard were interwoven[3] and (c) a version of the standard code which excluded the optional standardization features rooted in an "alien" dialect. Most complicated is the language situation of the speakers that have moved into the capital - and these are a major factor, the city having more than tripled the number of its inhabitants within the forty odd post-war years, by and large through immigration from other parts of the republic. Adult immigrants usually keep the two codes with which they have grown up, though brushing up

their versions of the standard code by getting rid of non-standardized elements. Their children, however, grow up with three codes: (a) the dialect of the parents, (b) a broader regional code in which the local Skopje dialect and the standard interweave, but which is to some extent influenced by the dialect of their parents and (c) a version of the standard code in which the standard code of the Macedonian speakers in their environment intersects. Things being as they are, the *ima* + deverbative adverb forms are part of the standard codes of the Western dialect speakers and of those of their immediate descendants; all other speakers of Macedonian develop standard codes in which the *sum* + active participle signals have a very wide scope of functions, including resultativeness and reportedness.

Lunt (1984: 126) benevolently contends that "standard Macedonian has the same sort of problems in maintaining consistency and uniformity that every European language has - the differences are matters of specific details". I find it, however, difficult to go along with this contention. The dual verbal system is not a "matter of specific detail", nor are the factors that have brought it about, namely: (a) the discrepancy between the verbal system of the dialect area of the capital and those of the dialect areas which had served as a basis for the standard code, (b) the persistent prestige of (at least some of) the Western dialects over the Eastern and Northern ones[4] and (c) the very intensive immigration into the capital. If these factors were not in constant operation, one would have expected the system used in the dialect area of the capital to prevail. As it is, not only do both systems continue to be used, but usage of one or the other has acquired secondary symbolic effects.[5]

The *ima* plus deverbative adverb, along with another very distinct feature of the Western dialect which has entered the standard, the triple definite article, symbolises superiority of linguistic manners. The use of *sum* plus active participle has the opposite effect of imparting solidarity with the broader regional code of Skopje,[6] which shows signs of developing into a colloquial register. In spite of their prestige effect, the use of Western features for which the standard allows an alternative do not spread among Macedonian speakers with Eastern and Northern dialectal heritage, who (one must remember) outnumber those with a Western or South-Western one.

The picture is made even more complex by the influence exerted by Serbo-Croatian, a language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of four out of the six Yugoslav republics, which shifts linguistic choice in a direction opposite to the one it would be expected to follow if the prestige factor were left to operate undisturbed[7]. Thus, the *sum* plus active participle construction not only intersects with the *ima* plus deverbative adverb one but also shows signs of joining its Serbo-Croatian formal counterpart in its successful efforts to function as a general past tense. I have heard Skopje-born Macedonian speakers use the *sum* plus active participle forms when speaking of events which have occurred in their presence and whose occurrence they do not question. Examine the following sentence:

(2)	*Kako*	*možeš*	*toa*	*da go*	*tvrdiš*
	how	can(2nd p.s.)	it(neut.)	to it(encl.)	contend (2nd p.s.)

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koga jas sum bila tamo i sve
when I am be (act. part. f.) there and everything

sum videla.
am see (act. part.f.s.)
'How can you contend that when I was there and saw everything?!'

An event which has been witnessed by the speaker is here referred to by the forms of the old Perfect (*sum bila*) instead of by the Aorist (*bev*). While contacts with genetically remote languages have diverted linguistic development off the course typically taken by the members of its linguistic family, reintensified contacts with a genetically close language have pulled it back and have tried to fit the language into the general current of linguistic evolution.

The different language codes are implicitly present in the Macedonian educational institutions, though the educational plans and programmes hardly ever acknowledge them. But they should! In a multinational, multilingual community of peoples with a variety of religions and customs, such as the Yugoslav one, the [illegible] with the dialect rather than with the standard, and awareness of the structure of the [illegible] relationship would contribute to [illegible] active role in the teaching/learning process. Furthermore, the recognition of the dialect as a partner to the standard would have [illegible] relationships between the members of different nations and nationalities (euphemism for national minorities) in the country and would bring the standard much closer to the children of the Macedonian immigrants who attend Yugoslav schools and learn Macedonian abroad.

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Of the twelve languages spoken and taught as a mother tongue in Yugoslavia, four are spoken and taught in the primary and secondary schools of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Very often, children who live not only in the same town, but also in the same neighbourhood, go to schools with different languages of instruction. When they communicate with each other, they do so in Macedonian; not in the standard code, however, but in the local dialect. Individual local Macedonian dialects are actually the *koinés* of *concitoyens* who are native speakers of different languages wherever and whenever they meet. This fact suggests that the speakers of the languages of the national minorities should learn the Macedonian standard through the dialect they speak, which requires an awareness of the dialect not only on the part of those who teach "the mother tongue" but also on the part of those who plan this teaching.

For historical and economic reasons there are as many native Macedonian speakers outside the boundaries of Yugoslavia as there are within them. The Macedonians in the neighbouring countries on the Balkans (in Greece and Bulgaria) cannot attend schools in their native language; the Macedonian immigrants in Canada, Australia, the U.S.A., the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden and France, however, can and do. The language of instruction (the language of the books and of the teacher) is, however, not exactly the language they hear in their homes. This raises doubts, misunderstandings, and in the case of the children of the Macedonian immigrants from countries other than Yugoslavia, resistance. If the teacher is made aware of the relationship of the standard and the dialect and allows for or even encourages variation, the doubts can be

dissipated and the resistance overcome.

The standard language is in fact an abstraction over a number of codes, some of which are close to it while others are purely dialectal. An explicit recognition of this fact is beneficial; in the case of a language such as Macedonian, the history of the standard of which is short and which, to boot, is in the centre of a Spachbund, it is imperative.

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NOTES

[1]The choice of the Western dialects was not made after Macedonia became part of the Yugoslav federation; the Macedonian grammarians of the late forties, fifties and sixties only described explicitly and sanctioned a code which had begun developing in the 19th century and whose basic distinctive features were shaped up in the first half of this century.

[2]Misirkov calls for the establishment of a Macedonian literary language based on the Prilep-Bitola Western dialects. As Friedman (1985) points out, Misirkov's book *Za makedonskite raboti* "On Macedonian Matters" (Misirkov, 1903) is a valuable document for the fact that the concept of a Macedonian nationality and literary language was already clearly defined by the beginning of the century and not created *ex nihilo*, by Yugoslav fiat in 1944.

[3]This regional code moves in the direction of becoming a regional register.

[4]The prestige follows not only from the choice of these dialects as the core for the standard code, but also from the fact that throughout history it was in the Western dialect area that the cultural centres were situated. Anyhow, these two phenomena are interdependent.

[5]Kalogjera (1985: 99) is specifically concerned with secondary, symbolic effects of language. Discussing the attitude towards Serbo-Croatian language varieties he says that the process of standardization of Serbo-Croatian has given rise to "specific attitudes toward dialects, particularly in the educated sector of the population and among men of letters". He stresses that such attitudes occur "in situations where one of the existing dialects obtains favourite treatment and becomes selected as the basis for the standard language".

[6]Lencek (1981: 42) points out that every language has unifying, separating and prestige functions. They are charged with symbolism "which in the Slavic societies has served and still serves as a peculiarly potent image of the social solidarity of those who speak the language".

[7] Serbo-Croatian penetrates through the mass media. It is also the language Macedonians use when speaking to Yugoslavs who do not speak Macedonian. One should, however, note that the dialects of Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian form a continuum. There are substantial differences between Western Serbo-Croatian and Southern Macedonian, but the differences between Southern Serbo-Croatian and Northern Macedonian are very small. This is one more reason why Macedonian speakers of the Northern Macedonian dialect of Skopje are so receptive to Serbo-Croatian influence.

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